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HISTORY OF ROME

AND

THE ROMAN PEOPLE.

AUGUSTUS.

Marble Statue found in 1863 at Livia's Villa (from the Vatican Gallery).

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THE ROMAN PEOPLE,

FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN EMPIRE,

BY

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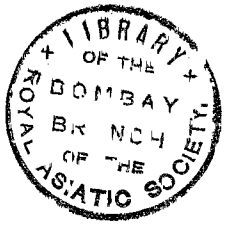
VOLUME IV.—PART I.

(FROM AUGUSTUS TO THE DEATH OF CLAUDIUS.)

WITH 251 WOOD ENGRAVINGS, 2 MAPS, AND 6 CHROMO-LITHOGRAPHS.



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CHAPTER LXVII.

THE ADMINISTRATION OF AUGUSTUS IN THE PROVINCES.

I.—Division of the Provinces between the Emperor and the Senate. New Character of the Provincial Government.

IT was the design of Augustus to introduce throughout the Empire the order which he caused to prevail in Rome, by organizing the provinces in such a manner as to stifle internal dissensions and to prevent attacks from without. To this end measures of two kinds were necessary, some military, others administrative. We will first examine the latter.

We have already seen what the Roman administration of the provinces[1] was designed to be, and what in reality it became in the hands of that violent and rapacious aristocracy which perished at Pharsalia and Philippi, or suffered itself to be made captive by the favours of Julius and Octavius. The younger Gracchus, Sylla, and Cæsar had exhibited towards the provincials a good-will which proved idle, because the two former had not been able to organize in Rome a power strong enough to impose upon all a respect for the laws, and because the latter had not had time to do it. But Augustus had now created this power, and the provincials hailed its advent with acclamations. Their legal condition, however, was not changed; the old formulas were all preserved. That which the provinces were, on the morrow of the conquest, they still remained under Trajan and the Antonines; Strabo, Appian, Pliny—all our witnesses attest this.[2] Only there ceased to be the periodical pillage of the governors, and there was added a security by which commerce and industry profited.

[1] See vol. ii. p. 163 *sq.*

[2] Strabo says (xiv. p. 646) that the kingdom of Pergamus preserved in his time the organization which had been given it by Aquilius 150 years before, and Appian (*Præf.*, 13), that the Romans after the downfall of Carthage: Λιβύην κατέστησαν ἐς τὰ νῦν ὄντα. In the time of Pliny the Younger, Pompey's law, or *formula provinciæ*, was still in force in Bithynia. (*Epist.*, x. 114.)

Under the Republic law and fact were opposed; the Empire brought them into harmony. As in Rome, so in the provinces, Augustus introduced hardly any innovations, and yet this did not hinder him from accomplishing in both a salutary revolution.

In the last days of the Republic its territories were divided into fourteen provinces, governed by persons who had occupied the consul's or prætor's office: the two Gauls, the two Spains, Illyria with Dalmatia, Macedon with Achaia, Asia, Bithynia with Pontus, Cilicia, Syria, the Cyrenaica with Crete, Africa with Numidia, Sicily, and Sardinia with Corsica. The ex-consuls were as a rule sent into provinces where the presence of the legions was necessary; the ex-prætors into the others. But this rule varied according to peace or war, and even according to the caprice of the nobles.

Augustus preserved the principle of this division. Under the Empire provinces were of two kinds: those lying upon the Mediterranean Sea, where not even a cohort was now needed to secure obedience; behind this tranquil zone the barbarous and warlike regions along the ocean, the Rhine, and the Danube, and those countries which were incessantly menaced by dangerous neighbours, as were the shores of the Euphrates and the valley of the Nile.[1] In these armies were indispensable, and for their command a governor with absolute military authority. But the armies and their generals obeyed the commander-in-chief, the *imperator;* hence it was needful to leave to the emperor those provinces where the legions were stationed and where the country was, so to speak, in a state of perpetual siege. In these provinces there was labour and peril;[2] there was also glory and strength, both of which Augustus desired (27 B.C.).

This division into provinces prætorian, or belonging to the emperor, and proconsular, or belonging to the senate and people, was not immutable. More than once the two powers made an exchange, but the principle was always maintained that only the

[1] The senate possessed at first, according to Dion, Africa with Numidia, Bætica, Asia, Greece or Achaia with Epirus, Dalmatia, Macedon, Sicily, Crete with the Cyrenaica, Bithynia with Pontus and Corsica; the emperor had the rest—Tarraconensis, Narbonensis, Cilicia, Syria, and Egypt, and the new provinces which were formed in Spain, Gaul, the Alps, and along the Danube.

[2] Αὐτὸς δὲ τούς τε πόνους καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἔχῃ. (Dion, liii. 12.)

peaceful regions should belong to the senate. Thus Cyprus and Narbonensis, originally imperial provinces, reverted to the people, who in turn gave up Dalmatia, whither disturbances had summoned the legions. In the same way Tiberius took from the senate Macedon and Achaia, and Claudius restored them. In fact, this partition was but an empty form. The senate which at Rome in the senate-house remained mute in the presence of the emperor, could scarcely be expected to speak very loud in the provinces where it was supposed to rule. Should war break out, or a revolt, the *imperator* at once intervened; if a proconsul died in office the emperor filled the place with one of his procurators,[1] and sometimes even in less urgent cases. Augustus, in virtue of his proconsular power, issued edicts by which all the governors were bound, those of the senate as well as his own, and in his numerous journeys visited all the provinces along his road whether they were imperial or not.

The provinces belonging to the people were the finest and their governors the most important. Chosen by lot, according to custom, from among the ex-consuls and ex-prætors of at least five years' standing,[2] they all were called proconsuls, even those who had been only prætors; they had twelve lictors with axes and rods,[3] the senatorial robe, and a salary which permitted them to display royal luxury;[4] finally, the right to assume all the insignia of their dignity as soon as they had passed the pomœrium, but without the sword or the military cloak.[5]

The imperial governors seemed of much less consequence. They, even when ex-consuls,[6] were called only proprætors, and but

[1] . . . . *proc. provinciæ Asiæ quam mandata principis vice defuncti proc. rexit,* probably under Vespasian. (Orelli, 3651.)

[2] This was the rule established by Pompey in 52 B.C. (Dion, liii. 13.) The lot having fallen badly, *ἐπειδή τινες αὐτῶν οὐ καλῶς ἤρχον,* the prince took care to designate in advance those who should be presented to take their chance. (*Ibid.*, 14.)

[3] Twelve in Asia and in Africa, and six in the other provinces, called the prætorian.

[4] The proconsuls of Asia and Africa each received, at the beginning of the third century, 1,000,000 sesterces (Dion, lxxviii. 23); the procurators only 200,000, 100,000, or even 60,000. (Dion, liii. 15; Jul. Capit., *Pert.*, 2; Tac., *Agric.*, 42; Lamp., *Alex. Sev.*, 42; Treb. Pol., *Claud.*, 15; *Prob.*, 4.)

[5] *Digest,* i. 16, 1. The proconsular province of Africa being, however, a frontier province, the governor who took charge of it for the senate had, under Augustus and Tiberius, a legion and an auxiliary corps, but by a special permission of the emperor, which, under Claudius, was withdrawn. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 48; Dion, lix. 20.)

[6] Augustus selected them from among the ex-consuls (*legatus Aug. consularis pro prætore*)

five lictors preceded them, and even these only when the governor was in his province. The Roman people, therefore, saw their own magistrates set off with all the exterior signs of power, a numerous train, and old Republic display, while those of the emperor appeared the agents of humble and inferior authority.

The people and the senate had reason to be content. But this agent who went away alone and quietly with the instructions of the prince,[1] on reaching his province assumed the sword and the war cloak. While the proconsul was occupied with public entertainments or in listening to the rhetoricians, the proprætor, at the head of his legions, was fighting or treating with kings. The authority of both was absolute in civil and criminal cases over all in the province, whether provincials or Roman citizens, an appeal always being allowed the citizen to the authority at Rome.[2] But the proprætor was subject only to the emperor, the proconsul both to the emperor and senate. The latter, except by special command, had no authority whatever over the soldiers who passed through his province or sojourned there; the former, invested with the military imperium, had the power of life and death over them.[3] The latter had but a year in his province; the former was allowed to remain there three years, often five, ten, or even more, at the will of the master who sent him thither.[4] How much care was taken to enhance before the public eye the importance of the senate's officers and to make the

Magistrate invested with the Imperium.[5]

when they were to take command of several legions, and from among the ex-prætors when they were to command but one (*leg. Aug. pro prætore*).

[1] Dion, liii. 15; Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 64. Most of the questions which they were to determine had been foreseen and settled. The proconsuls likewise received instructions from the prince.

[2] *Plenissimam jurisdictionem proc. habet.* (*Digest*, i. 16, 7.) In respect to the importance attached to the title of citizen in the provinces, see in the Acts of the Apostles the history of St. Paul's imprisonment at Jerusalem. Under Trajan mention is again made of a *civis Romanus* who, being accused of a capital crime, was sent to Rome. (Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 97.)

[3] *Jus gladii.* (*Digest*, i. 17, 6, § 8.)

[4] In twenty-one years there were under Tiberius only two procurators in Judæa, Gratus and Pilate. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4 and 5.) Appian says also (*Iber.*, 102): Στρατηγοὺς ἐπιπέμπειν ἐτησίους . . . . ἡ βουλὴ . . . . βασιλεὺς ἐφ' ὅσον δοκιμάσειεν. Tiberius, however, left Silanus, proconsul in Africa, seven years in office.

[5] Reverse of a coin of Brutus, representing the consul preceded by the *accensus* or orderly attached to magistrates in possession of the imperium, and escorted by his lictors, the axe above the rods. (Cf. Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.*, at the word *Accensus*.)

officers of the emperor inconspicuous—to give the latter power without honours, and to the former the empty show of dignity which consoles and satisfies a vain ambition!

Whether appointed by the senate or the emperor, the governors of provinces were invested, subject to the differences just indicated, with all political, military, and judicial powers. In the imperial provinces we shall note the absence of the *quæstor*;[1] this ancient title, honoured by so many illustrious names, was here replaced by the more modest name of the *procurator*. The procurators, selected from the equestrian order, even from the class of freedmen or of provincials,[2] were sent into the senatorial provinces to take charge of the private property of the prince (*fiscus*) and into the imperial to fulfil all the functions which the senate assigned to its quæstors, with the single exception of judicial authority, the procurators having in the early period jurisdiction only over the slaves.[3] The ruler, whose stewards they were, will not leave them long, however, in this inferior position; Claudius gave orders that their decisions in regard to contributions should have equal force with his own.[4] There was a procurator in each great district or province, sometimes one only for two or three contiguous provinces, for as yet there is nothing fixed in these divisions.[5] "The emperor and the senate," says Strabo, "divide their provinces, now in one way, now in another, and modify the administration of them according to circumstances." They were too ignorant of the principles of a good administration and of the needs of the countries that were to be governed to establish invariable rules, which would, moreover, have been only an embarrassment to a power unwilling to endure them.[6]

[1] Gaius, *Inst.*, i. 6.

[2] Gessius Florus, procurator of Judæa, was a native of Clazomenæ. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 9.) Another, Tiberius Alexander, was an apostate Jew. (*Id.*, *ibid.*, 4.) The freedmen only attained to the inferior procuratorships; we never find them among the *procuratores præsides*.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 15: *Jus in servitia et in pecunias familiares*.

[4] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60; Suet., *Claud.*, 12; Ulp., in the *Digest*, i. 19, *Proœm.* It is probable also that from that time on, this office gave the rank of knight. (Tac., *Agric.*, 4.)

[5] In the ancient kingdom of Judæa, Samaria and Galilee had, at one time, each its procurator. (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 54.)

[6] [Considering the extraordinary contrasts of national feeling and of previous political training among the subject states, a system of invariable rules would probably have worked as

The procurators of the provinces were sometimes invested with political powers; the Roman administration in Judæa, for instance, had no higher agents. They were in reality governors, although Judæa was but a fragment of Syria. Pontius Pilate, Cumanus, Felix, pronounced sentence as the highest local authority. They were subject, however, to the governor of Syria, who could displace them and cite them before the emperor. By the creation of these new functionaries a change commenced which was to end only with the separation of the civil and military powers under Constantine.

Beneath these magistrates came officers of all grades, and inferior agents—præfects, tribunes, scribes, criers, public slaves, lictors, etc. We must not forget the cohort, the friends and pupils of the governor, who formed his council or his court of justice, and to whom he sometimes intrusted the most important commissions.[1] Centurions and veterans, sent to the allied nations or to native chiefs, represented the name of Rome and watched over her interests. We find such in Frisia and Batavia, at Byzantium and in Africa.[2]

The *Verrine Orations* have shown us what the old governor of a province could be. With the Empire their condition changed.[3] In the earlier time the province saw a new master arrive every year, eager to return to the pleasures of Rome, hastening to make his fortune and repair his establishment at the expense of those whom he came to govern. But now the Empire being one man's domain, this property will be managed better, no doubt from a spirit of justice, but, above all, from interested motives. Next to a wise selection and a close supervision, the best chance of a good administration rested in a long tenure of office, and to

badly as the modern craze of imposing parliaments and constitutional governments on all kinds of untrained societies.—*Ed.*]

[1] Vitellius, after deposing Pontius Pilate, gave Judæa into the charge of Marcellus, one of his friends: *τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων*. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.) There were also *assessores*, men who sat beside the magistrate and gave advice as experts. Alexander Severus gave them a regular salary. (Lampr., *Alex. Sev.*, 45.)

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 72; *Hist.*, iv. 14; Pliny, *Epist.*, x.; L. Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 2715 and 4033.

[3] Later it was forbidden to send any man as an officer into his native province, for the purpose of avoiding acts of partiality; it was also forbidden to levy anything, even for the public treasury, beyond the fixed sum. (Dion, liii. 15; lvii. 10; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6.)

retain its officials as long as possible became one of the general maxims of the imperial administration.

The fixed salary which provided for their needs set free the subjects from the exactions of which they had been made the victims under pretext of supplies to be furnished to the prætor, and instead of passing a few months only in a province whose chief cities they scarcely knew by name, we see them now residents in the country long enough to understand its needs and acquire habits which caused them to cease regarding the province as a place of exile.[1] The proconsuls of the Republic left their wives in Rome, those of the Empire took theirs with them; Augustus favoured this custom, and Alexander Severus went further, requiring a temporary union from every unmarried governor. The principle was that the former were regarded as going, in a sense, into an enemy's country, and that it was fitting that a married woman should be kept at a distance from camps, while the latter went among his fellow-citizens and with the purpose of a long residence. The governor was no longer in camp in his province; his affections were there, his domestic hearth, and his Penates, which his wife, like Rachel, had brought with her, hidden in her bosom.

This is not to say that the governors were suddenly transformed into able and upright men; we only believe that the earlier excesses became difficult in that too conspicuous crimes drew upon themselves prompt punishment,[2] that too great a fortune

[1] Dion, lv. 28: Ἐπὶ πλείω χρόνον; Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6: *Quum plerique iisdem negotiis insenescerent.* Cf. p. 4, n. 4. This was recognized as so necessary that in the year 5 A.D., disturbances having broken out in many places, it was declared that the governors of senatorial provinces, henceforth to be elected, not chosen by lot, should remain in office two years. Many upright men under the Republic had refused these positions, being unwilling to pillage the provinces. Atticus would never accept one, Cicero went into Cilicia with reluctance, and Quintus complains bitterly of being obliged to remain a third year in Asia.

[2] Dion says that the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians in the year 6 was caused by the exactions of the governor; this is possible, but any administration, however gentle, must have appeared insupportable to these barbarians, who with difficulty submitted to the payment of tribute and to the surrender of their sons for military service. In respect to Varus, whom Velleius Paterculus accused of going into Syria poor and returning thence rich, we may remark that the poverty of this man, who had some time before been consul, and who was connected by marriage with the imperial family, could not have been very serious; that, secondly, he remained nine years in his province, while under the earlier system Syria would have been thrice or four times plundered; finally, that Varus, after his defeat, might with impunity be accused by any man and on any point. In the case of the freedman Licinius in Gaul, his extortions show that Augustus could not prevent everything; but the confiscation which overtook him

might have tempted the avidity of the prince, that, in fact, moderation and prudence were recommended to the governors by their own interest. Augustus, in spite of his mildness, gave the example of salutary severity. We shall read of the fate of Gallus and Lollius, two friends of the prince, who by their exactions incurred his displeasure, and in consequence took their own lives. Nor had he any indulgence for the people about him, and the freedmen who, under his successors, became so powerful, were retained by him in obscurity and the fulfilment of their duties. "His secretary," says Suetonius, "having accepted 500 denarii to communicate the contents of a letter, he caused the man's legs to be broken; the preceptor and the slaves of Caius Cæsar having taken advantage of the prince's illness to commit acts of rapacity and tyranny in his province, the emperor ordered them to be thrown into the water with stones round their necks." His conception of the Empire was the same as the senate's: the most vigorous political centralization, but much political liberty; a sovereign will at Rome for the general vitality of the Empire, and independence in the provinces for the administration of local affairs. The provincial cities kept for three centuries more their religion, their special customs or laws, their own magistrates, their public assemblies, their revenues, and possessions, and to see them thus administer their affairs in their own way, they might have been regarded as small, independent states, to which nothing was lacking save the right to disturb the public peace and tear each other to pieces by continual wars, as in the time of their liberty.

Julius Cæsar had sent 80,000 citizens into colonies beyond the sea; Augustus continued this system, less in obedience to a principle of government than as an expedient for fulfilling the promises made to his veterans. In the *Monumentum Ancyranum* (No. 28) Augustus enumerates the military colonies founded by him in the provinces; this had the effect of increasing there the number of persons whose rights the governors were bound to respect.

proves also that such conduct was dangerous, or, at least, profitless. Achaia and Macedon being dissatisfied with the senate's administration, *onera deprecantes*, nothing better is proposed than to transfer them to the emperor's share. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 76.)

II.—Financial Reforms.

In the government of the provinces Augustus instituted two important innovations, one political, the other religious, both very practical.

Twenty years of civil wars, of pillage, and of monstrous exactions had destroyed the wealth existing in the Roman world, and the cessation of industry, agriculture, and commerce had prevented its renewal. At a thousand points throughout Italy the rural population had been dispossessed, and the land, which had many times changed owners, no longer yielded its fair produce. Destitution was extreme; the whole world was reduced to beggary, even the senators; in Asia, the most opulent of the provinces, bankruptcy was universal, and Augustus was obliged to decree a revolutionary measure, namely, the abolition of debts.[1] The taxes no longer came in; at the same time the needs of the public treasury increased. To prevent the governors from pillaging the provinces, Augustus had allotted to them a salary, and to give the Empire security had organized a standing army of 300,000 men. We have no means of ascertaining the expense of the administration, but the annual cost of an army like this may be estimated at £8,000,000.[2]

How could this money be obtained? It was impossible to think of seriously increasing the taxes in the exhausted provinces. But one method was left, and that was to husband more prudently the resources of the State. Under the Republic the contributions of the people had been moderate, but unequally distributed and levied in an arbitrary manner—two evils which Julius Cæsar and then Augustus had sought to remedy. We shall not assert that the Empire proposed to equalize taxes, but it at least sought to ascertain the quota of taxable property in order to distribute the burden more equitably. The ordnance survey of land commenced by Julius was completed by Augustus. Four geometers went over the entire Empire and measured the land. Zenodoxus completed the measurement of the eastern portions in thirteen years, five

[1] Χρεῶν ἄφεσις. (Dion Chrysost., p. 601 b.)

[2] See, on this subject, chap. lxxi. § 3.

months, and nine days; Theodotus, of the northern, in nineteen years, eight months, and ten days; Polycletus, of the southern, in twenty-four years, one month, and ten days; and Didymus, of the western, in sixteen years and three months.[1] The results of their labours, brought together at Rome, were arranged in order by Balbus, who, after having prepared a register of the measurements of all the countries and of all the cities, wrote out the agrarian regulations imposed upon all the provinces.[2] Agrippa presided for a long time over this vast work; he prepared from it a map of the world, which he caused to be engraved under a portico,[3] so that each senator designated to the government of a province might examine in advance its resources and extent in what may be called the Registrar-general's office for the Empire. "He receives," says Vegetius, "a description of his province, with indication of distances in miles, of the condition of roads and by-ways, mountains and rivers."[4] The lands were divided into different classes, according to their products and fertility, and each class taxed in proportion to its yield;[5] and the agriculturist, knowing what his debt to the State would be, might improve his land without the fear that he was labouring only for the advantage of the publican.[6]

This register furnished an excellent basis for taxation, and the census decreed by Cæsar to be made every five years (by his *lex Julia municipalis*) in the Italian peninsula, rendered its allotment easy. The work could not assume the religious, political, and military character of the ancient census, which ended with the lustration of the whole people and the solemn sacrifice of the *suovetaurilia*; but it supplied information indispensable in a State where the individual was eligible according to his property for

[1] In respect to this vast operation, see Ritschl, *Die Vermehrung des röm. Reichs.*, and De Rossi, *Piante iconografiche di Roma*, p. 28.

[2] Front., *de Col. ap. Goes.*, p. 109.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 3. Peutinger's map seems to have been an edition or a rude imitation of this map of Agrippa, with some after-touches.

[4] Veget., *de Re milit.*, iii. 6.

[5] In Pannonia the division was as follows: *arvi primi, arvi secundi, prati, silvæ glandiferæ, silvæ vulgares, pascua.* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de limit. Const.*, p. 205, 9.)

[6] *Augusti temporibus, orbis Romanus agris divisus censuque descriptus est, ut possessio sua nulli haberetur incerta, quam pro tributorum susceperat quantitate solvenda.* (Cassiod., *Variar.*, iii. 52; Cf. Isidorus, *Orig.*, v. 36.)

imperial and municipal offices, and even in the matter of penalties for crimes. Throughout Italy the lists made up by the duumvirs every fifth year, *quinquennales*, were sent to Rome, and Augustus, desirous of maintaining the old customs, performed there the ancient ceremonies, although these were in reality but the concluding act of a work of pure statistics.

The same order was established in the provinces. Augustus divided them into financial districts, each placed under the care of an *adjutor ad censum*, who made up the list of the tax-payers of his district, or received the lists from the *quinquennales*, and then, after verifying them, transmitted all these documents to the *censitor* of the province, *legatus Aug. ad census accipiendos*. This high functionary of senatorial rank prepared a summary of these papers for whichever of the emperor's secretaries had charge of the general enrolment, *a censibus*,[1] and upon examination of these lists the emperor fixed the sum total of the tax, increasing or diminishing it according to the needs of the exchequer or the appeals for relief from the populations.

These agents, paid by government and closely watched,[2] levied only the direct taxes—the land-tax and capitation; a different system was pursued in respect to the indirect contributions, which were still farmed out to the publicans,[3] who, however, were not able in this controlled service to renew the scandalous abuses of former days.[4] The Republic, and after it the Empire, received along its frontier by land and sea the *portorium* upon all articles of daily use that were carried in or out. Besides this, every province or group of provinces had its line of custom-houses. Spain,

[1] Borghesi, *Opera*, v. 7 *et sq.*; L. Renier, *Mél. d'Épigr.*, p. 47-72; *Digest*, l. 15, 4, 1; Orelli-Henzen, No. 6518.

[2] *Lex Julia de residuis.* (*Digest*, xlviii. 13, 2.) *Si quis fiscalem pecuniam . . . . in suos usus converterit, in quadruplum condemnatur.* (Paulus, v. 27, 1.) *Qui nova vectigalia exercent, lege Julia tenentur.* (*Digest*, xlviii. 6, 12.)

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6; xiii. 50; and *Digest, passim.* They acted under the supervision of the imperial procurators . . . . *procuratores quatuor publicorum Africæ.* (Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6648 and 6649.)

[4] It had been stipulated with certain cities that Roman citizens should be exempt from these dues; but there is no trace of such exemption later than the time of the Republic (Livy, xxxviii. 44), and I do not believe that the measure was general, for it would have ruined the cities. The military posts were beyond the line of the customs. (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, 2.) The tariff of Zraia has for title: *Lex portus post discessum* cohortis *instituta.* This tariff, established *after the departure of the cohort*, was very low; it has been regarded as an imperial impost, but was probably nothing more than a municipal toll.

Narbonensis, the three Gauls, Italy, Sicily, and the others formed each a territory where traders entered and travelled only on payment of dues; and, finally, in the interior of the provinces, there were tolls on roads and bridges, and on entering cities dues for the benefit of the State or of the cities themselves. An article of food, therefore, transported any considerable distance, paid *portorium* several times—a custom ruinous to trade, but very profitable to the treasury, kept up in France as late as the last century. The dead man, on his way to his last dwelling, who had to pass a toll-house, must pay the *portorium*.[1] The tax was two per cent. *ad valorem* in Spain; two and a half in the three Gauls, Asia, Bithynia, and Illyricum; five in Sicily; twenty-five in the ports of the Red Sea for commodities brought from Arabia and India, which, as mere luxuries, paid a sumptuary tax.

The *vicesima hereditatum* caused all the landed property of the citizens to pass in the course of a few generations through the hands of the State.[2] With this multiplicity of tolls and the customs and city-dues, there must have been levied in much less time upon trade a sum equal to the value of the whole annual traffic of the Empire, and as this traffic was immense, the *portorium* furnished to the State an enormous revenue. These two taxes alone—that upon inheritances and that upon traffic—are sufficient to explain how economical princes were able to accumulate wealth such as that left by Tiberius.[3]

Each time that territory was added to the Empire a census was made in that region of persons and property. Thus it happened in Judæa, in the year 7 A.D., when that country, after the death of Archelaus, was added to the Syrian province, and in the year 27, in Gallia Comata, where civil war had until that time prevented the undertaking of this work of peace. The same thing was done by Claudius and Trajan after the conquest of Britain

[1] *Digest*, xi. 7, 37. The emperor, the officers of the palace, treasury agents, and soldiers were excused from the *portorium*; private individuals also had exemption for objects designed for personal use and for *instrumenta itineris*, carts, and beasts of burden. The exportation of certain articles was prohibited—corn, oil, wine, weapons, and iron, to the end that neither food nor arms should be furnished to the barbarians.

[2] See vol. iii. p. 722.

[3] Pliny (vi. 26) says that commodities from India were sold for 100 times their cost. The excess of the demand over the supply raised the price, but the duty also largely contributed to it.

and in Dacia. These transactions, which furnished authentic data in respect to the population and the amount of taxable property,[1] were repeated at long intervals of time, at least, we know of but five in Gaul from Augustus to Domitian. They served to verify the results of the quinquennial census, and to establish the number of persons belonging to the privileged class of *cives romani*.

We have seen[2] that, instead of overburdening the provinces to meet the new expenses of the army and the government, Augustus had constrained the citizens to bear their share of the public costs. The contributions that he required from them supplied the military treasury, so that he made an equitable division, the citizens in part paying the army, which the inhabitants of the corn-growing regions supplied with food, while the provincials paid the expenses of the provincial government.

Each province had its *tabularium*, where the records of the census were kept,[3] and a treasury of its own, *fiscus*, where the quæstor in the proconsular and the procurator in the imperial provinces deposited the sums obtained by taxation. What was not expended in the province for keeping up the army, for the payment of salaries, and for the public works ordered or subsidized by the central power, was sent to Rome, and divided, according to the nature of the tax, between the two public treasuries, civil and military, and the three imperial treasuries, the *fiscus*, the *patrimonium Cæsaris*, and the emperor's private purse. Thus to the *Ærarium Saturni* went the revenues from the public domain and the senatorial provinces, the tax paid upon enfranchisements, the *bona caduca* and *vacantia;* to the *Ærarium militare*, the duties upon inheritances and upon sales; to the *Fiscus*, the receipts of the imperial provinces; to the *Patrimonium*, the revenues arising from what are called in modern times Crown lands; to the *Res privata*, the income of the prince's personal fortune, of which he could dispose at pleasure: in twenty years Augustus received in various legacies 1,400,000,000 sesterces.[4]

[1] Suidas, *s.v.* *Ἀπογραφή* and *Αὔγουστος . . . . . τῶν τε ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν οὐσιῶν.*

[2] Vol. iii. p. 721. The taxes of the provinces remained moderate. Cicero says that Asia scarcely paid her expenses, and, according to Strabo (ii. 5, 8), the Romans disdained the conquest of Britain because they found *τὰ τέλη* (the customs) more profitable than would be *ὁ φορός* (the tribute), deduction being made of the necessary expense of the garrison required in the country.

[3] Orelli, 155, 2348, and 3662.

[4] The emperor's private domain was, at his accession, incorporated into the imperial domain

The financial administration of the Republic had been detestable; that organized by Augustus was destined to be a great benefit to the subjects of the Empire until the time when, in its extremity, the government made use of that administration, as of a suction-pump, to draw to itself all the wealth of its subjects.

Another reform is connected with this. The honest measure brought forward in 84 B.C. by Marius Gratidianus had not been carried out.[1] Sylla's *lex testamentaria* had made it obligatory to receive the public money at its nominal value, whatever might be its metallic composition.[2] Hence plated denarii were very largely in circulation even in the time of Julius Cæsar, who had, however, issued an excellent gold coin, the *aureus*.[3] Augustus withdrew the debased coin, and made the right of coining gold and silver a Crown right, limited to the imperial mints of Rome and a few of the great cities of the provinces. As he had shared with the senate the administration of the provinces, so now he shared with them the monetary privilege, keeping, however, the best part of it in reserving for himself the mintage of the precious metals.[4] The senate had only the right of coining bronze. As to the municipal coinage, it was very soon suppressed, at least in the western provinces.[5] The various populations, therefore, had, for their dealings with each other a facility never before known, since the same coinage was now employed from one end of the Empire to the other.

A senatus-consultum had authorized Julius Cæsar to have his head upon the *aurei*; Augustus and his successors perpetuated this

(Vopiscus, *Tac.*, 10), which, under the Empire, as in ancient France, was inalienable. The Thracian Chersonesus, the property of Agrippa, fell to the Crown at his death, and made part of the *patrimonium Cæsaris* as late as the reign of Trajan. (Marquardt, *Handbuch der röm. Alterthümer*, ii. 248.)

[1] See vol. ii. p. 609.

[2] Paulus, *Sent.*, v. 25. Aristotle justly defined money an article of merchandise. Paulus and the Roman lawyers saw in it only a means of determining the prices of things. From this incorrect conception arose all the monetary misfortunes of the Empire and of the Middle Ages, when it was believed that it was possible to give to coined money whatever value government might please to assign it.

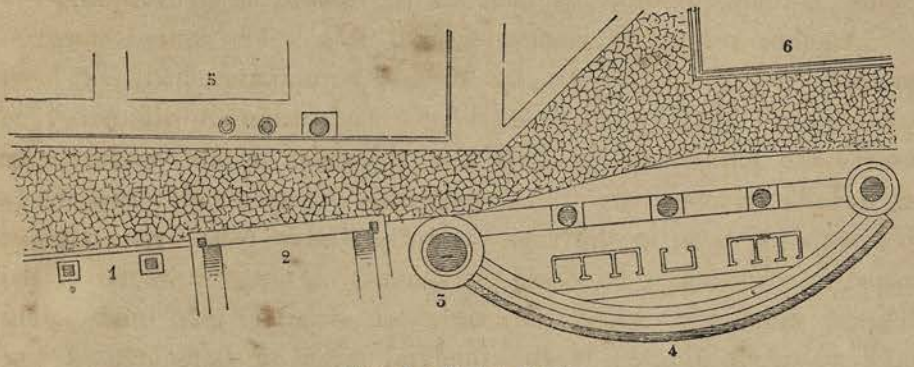
[3] See vol. iii. p. 394.

[4] This reform belongs to the year 15 B.C. The government being concentrated in the prince's household, it was his slaves who coined the imperial money, *familia monetalis* or *monetaria*. (Orelli, 1711 and 3226; *C. I. L.*, vol. vi. 239 and 298.)

[5] In Gaul, Sicily, and Africa towards the close of the reign of Augustus, or at the beginning of that of Tiberius, and in Spain during the reign of Caligula. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, i. 2 *et sq.*)

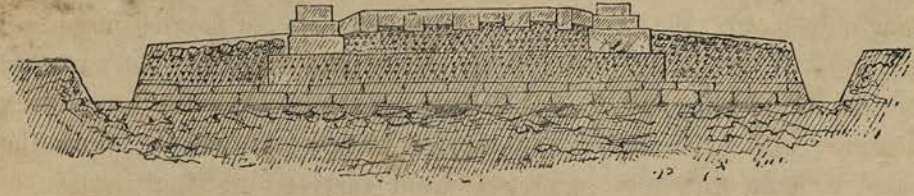
custom, which has given us the magnificent monetary series in which is preserved the authentic likeness of each emperor.

The labours of registration had facilitated two other operations of extreme importance. The Empire being thus explored and



Plan of a Roman Road.[1]

measured, it became easy to lay out through it those high-roads regarded by the Romans as reins of government, which, with their



Section of a Roman Road.

code of civil law, are the great originality of this people. The senate had traced military roads throughout Italy, had boldly struck a great highway through the mountains of Epirus and Macedon, and united Spain with Italy by a coast-road along the Mediterranean Sea; Augustus laid out those of Cisalpine Gaul and the Iberian peninsula. The example was everywhere followed; from the main arteries ramifications in infinite number were thrown off, binding together cities and peoples.[2] The Republic had laid

[1] This plan, copied from Canina (*Via Appia*, p. 264), represents a portion of one of the roads passing the Forum; on one side, the Julian basilica (No. 1), the arch of Tiberius (No. 2), the Golden Milestone (No. 3), and the Rostra (No. 4); on the other, the temple of Saturn (No. 5) and the temple of Concord (No. 6). For the explanation of the section, see p. 17, note.

[2] [This is not specific enough. As in England now all railway lines communicate easily and rapidly with the main lines from London, so the by-roads were, so to speak, ribs from the vertebra of the great roads leading from Rome. Good cross-ways would have made military combinations among revolting provinces possible, and were therefore discouraged.—*Ed.*]

out highways for military purposes; the Empire did the same, but it had also in view the interests of traffic, so that a system of roads was developed which spread its network over all the provinces.

Golden Milestone.[3]

Augustus regulated another institution, which until his time had remained in an undeveloped condition:[1] upon all the roads leading away from the Golden Milestone of the Forum he placed at short distances relays of young men to serve as couriers, and afterwards vehicles to hurry information from the provinces.[2] These posts, which were kept up to a condition of great efficiency, facilitated circulation through all parts of the Empire. A governor or a general, when he left Rome, could know at what time he should arrive at his place of destination. The system of posts, established in the interests of government, proved serviceable to individuals as well, for there can be no doubt that, together with the official despatches, every courier carried private letters

[1] During the Republic the official *Tabellarii* carried the despatches of the magistrates, and had stations on the military roads. (Inscr. of the year 132 B.C., in the *C. I. L.*, vol. i., No. 551.) Publicans and private individuals sent their despatches by their slaves or freedmen, or by private *tabellarii*, whom they paid. (Cf. Desjardins, *Mém. sur les Tabellarii.*) The usage had been long established that the *parochi*, dwellers at the station where the travellers stopped, should give *quæ debent, ligna salemque.* (Hor., *Sat.*, I. v. 46.) French soldiers at their halting-places have a right to "fire and candles."

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 49, and Plut., *Galba*, 8. The expenses of the post, defrayed by the cities through which it passed, became a very serious burden to them. The subject is one to which we shall have occasion many times to refer.

[3] Restoration by Canina, *Via Appia*, p. 264; see vol. i. p. 158, the first military milestone of the Appian Way. The roads were of two kinds: *Viæ publicæ regales, quæ publice muniuntur*

also.[1] Traffic, moreover, imitated, and had even forestalled, the imperial institution; for a long time persons travelling on business had been able to obtain along the main roads horses and vehicles for use on their journey or in the prosecution of their affairs.

Vases found in the *Aquæ Apollinares*.

The emperor's post cannot be compared, as a public service, with our postal system, but the military roads had now effected in the Roman world the same revolution that railways have made with us. The mountains cleft by the soldier's pick, the rivers spanned by the

. . . . *vicinales, quæ de publicis divertunt in agros, hæ muniuntur per pagos.* (Sicul. Flaccus, *de Cond. agr.*, i. p. 215.) There were also *viæ agrariæ*. Leger thus explains (*Les Travaux publics au Temps des Romains*, p. 158) the construction of the Roman road: "An excavation was made as deep as was necessary to reach perfectly solid ground; this was then levelled and prepared, and either rolled or rammed; in some cases piles were driven in where the solidity was not sufficient; then upon a surface of sand, four or six inches in thickness, or of mortar about an inch thick, was built up, as a rule, four layers of masonry: first, flat stones united with a very hard cement; second, a layer of concrete; third, a layer of finer, rolled concrete; and, lastly, the very solid upper layer, which varied according to the material furnished by the locality." The total depth of the construction varied, according to the location, from three and a half to four feet. The same author estimates (p. 248) that 80,000 kilomètres of military roads were made, and must have cost for their construction about seven milliards of francs (£280,000,000). The miles were reckoned at first on these roads from the gates in the wall of Servius. From the time of Augustus a mile was added for the distance from the Golden Milestone to the city gates without displacing the milestones on the roads. (*Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. p. 388.) A calculation founded upon the Itinerary of Antoninus gives us, in the Empire, 372 high roads having a total length of 77,000 kilomètres, or 18,000 leagues. The great roads were, like the Appian Way, fifteen feet wide, or, like the Valerian, fifteen and three-quarters feet, having besides a foot-way varying from a foot and a half to six and a half feet in width. The secondary roads had a width of about ten feet. (Cf. vol. i. p. 312, for the substructions of the *via Appia* near Aricia.)

[1] *Quum veredarii deesset occasio privato homini reddenda scripta commisi.* (Symmachus, *Epist.*, vii. 14, and iv. 20; Cf. Synesius, *Ep. ad Olympum.*) Octavius had prohibited the publication of the senate's acts. (Suet., *Octav.*, 36.) But there were journals, *Acta*, which related all that went on in Rome (Suet., *Tib.*, 5; *Calig.*, 8; Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 3; xiii. 31; Lampr., *Comm.*,

bridges, suffered civilization to pass onward, and following these roads as so many conductors to penetrate into the most solitary retreats, into the very midst of populations which she was destined to conquer more completely than armies could do.

It is a curious fact that the Romans had, as we have, time-tables giving the distances from point to point along the road. Three silver vases, found in 1852 in the *Aquæ Apollinares* (Bagni di Vicarello), under the waters of a mineral spring into which they may have been thrown as offerings, bear engraved the names of cities through which the traveller passes in going from Gades to Rome, with the distance from each to each in miles.

III.—Religious Reform.

In the reign of Augustus occurred a phenomenon unique in history—the formation, in a civilized country, of a State religion, which, introduced without violence, accepted without anger, and practised without interior revolt, yet affords no ground to accuse the conscience of the people accepting it of disgraceful subserviency.

Augustus, like all his contemporaries, was superstitious, but he was not devout; Suetonius represents him as extremely irreverent towards the greatest of the gods. Religion was an instrument in the hands of this skilful player. We have seen his attempts to revive the dead gods of Olympus and to restore their former honours to the Lares.[1] In this restoration he did not merely seek to revive the early faith in the protecting Genii of the hearth and and the cross-roads; he found therein the means of establishing a religious tie between Rome and her subjects of the western provinces, whose forms of worship differed much from the Italiot rites. The great gods of those nations could not be assimilated with the gods of Rome, as had been done in the case of the Hellenized East. It was otherwise with the Lares, nameless deities, without definite form or determined attributes, save the

15), and these journals were read with avidity in the provinces. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 22: *Diurna Romani populi per provincias, per exercitus curatius leguntur.*)

[1] See vol. iii. p. 766.

power of defending their worshippers. These gods answered to that idea of divine protection which underlies all forms of worship, and wherever a local or domestic divinity was found, he could without violence be called the Lar of the family, the village, or the town. It was an admirable stroke of policy to recognize them as the divine brethren of the Lares of Rome. Augustus paid honour to their altars; the Romans, like the native of the country, offered the customary libations and sacrifices, and these provincial Lares added to their name that of the prince who had opened to them the imperial pantheon. They were called the Lares Augusti,[1] a word of twofold significance, which may be regarded either as a memorial of the emperor or as an attestation of the august character of the Lares: *Augusto sacrum deo Borvoni et Candido.*

A new order of priests was required for this religion, at once old and new. By reason of the expense which the worship involved, in its sacrifices, sacred banquets, and games, its priests were selected from among the rich plebeians, and since almost all men of free birth had already their place in the Curia, it was chiefly the freedmen in easy circumstances, by birth excluded from the colonial senate, who filled this annual priesthood. The Augustales in office, *seviri*, with their colleagues who had served previously, later formed in the provincial city a class by themselves, intermediate between the common people and the municipal senate.[2]

By this adroit combination the inhabitants of Pannonia and the western provinces, whose forms of worship estranged them from the Latin and Greek races, saw their ancient divinities associated with those of their masters, and the priests of the old religion were thrown into the shade by the new clergy. This form of worship extended everywhere, and long preserved its hold upon

[1] The decree of the senate referred to on next page seems to have conferred upon them this appellation.

[2] Orelli-Henzen, No. 3939: . . . . *Decuriones, Augustales et plebs.* At Narbonne the *seviri* were originally three knights and three freedmen. (Orelli-Henzen, No. 2489.) Greece, Asia, and Africa, all whose religious institutions had been long since accepted by the Romans, had no colleges of Augustales, this priesthood existing only in Gaul, Spain, Illyria, and colonies beyond the sea—at Philippi, for example. (Heuzey, *Hist. de Macéd.*, p. 37.) Italy had these priests for its Lares, and some of Trajan's colonies established them in Dacia. (L. Renier, *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxix. part i. pp. 68–70.)

the popular mind. In 392 Theodosius, proscribing pagan rites, as his predecessors had proscribed Christian ceremonies, declared it treason any longer to worship the Genii, Lares, and Penates.[1]

After the battle of Actium, when it became evident that the Roman world was henceforth to have but one master, the senate decreed that the Genius of Augustus should be worshipped in the same places as the Lares.[2] This law was not only obligatory in Rome, but throughout the provinces, where the emperor took his place among the local divinities. In the department of the Allier have been found two bronze busts representing Augustus and Livia, which were the Lares of a small Gallic building.[3] This is proved past doubt by the inscription they bear: *V. S. L. M.* (*Votum solvit libens merito*).

Livia (Bronze in the Louvre).

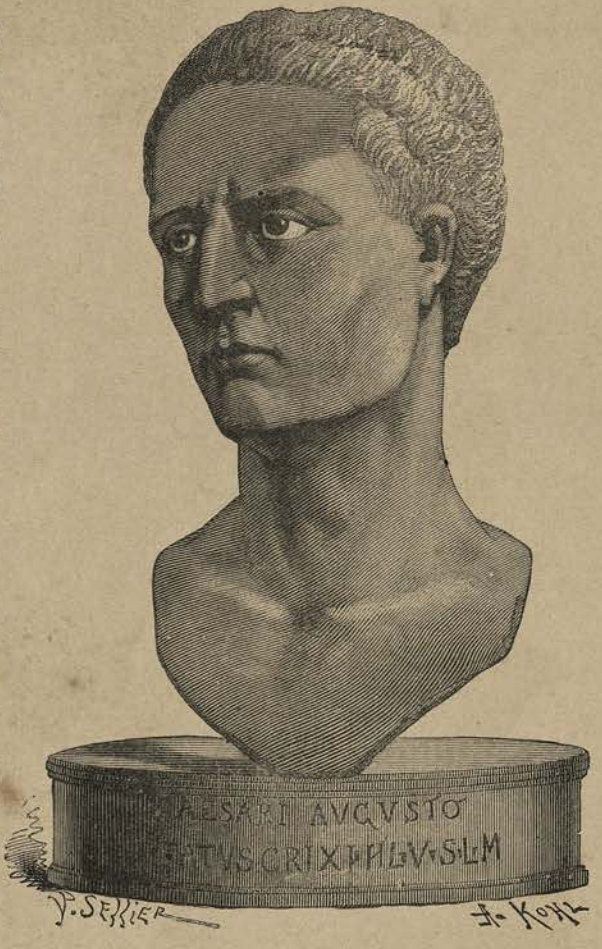
We thus behold Augustus admitted among the domestic gods of his subjects, the master of the world entering every house for the purpose of dispensing favours from on high. He was also associated with the great national divinities.

[1] *Cod. Theod.*, XVI. x. xii.: *Larem igne, mero Genium, nidore Penates.*

[2] Dion, li. 19.

[3] They are now in the Louvre. [We know that the Egyptian kings were gods during their life, and that the king of Persia called himself "Brother of the Sun."—*Ed.*]

For, above the Lares and the local gods—the lower classes of heaven—the western provinces had divinities who were the objects of a more general veneration. Augustus latinized their names, put side by side that of the corresponding Roman divinity, and gave out to all the world that the two were but one; for example, Jupiter-Taranis, Pluto-Teutates, Mars-Camulus, Diana-Arduinna, Minerva-Belisama, and the like, so that conquerors and conquered might alike, without conscientious scruples, worship side by side at the same altars. But these foreign gods, subjects of Rome like their people, were forced to admit among themselves the supreme divinity of the State, the Genius of the emperor. In the ruins of the immense temple which the Arverni built on the summit of Puy-de-Dôme, and the Alemanni destroyed in the reign of Valerian,[1] the following votive offering was found: *Num. Aug. et deo Mercurio Dumiati.*



Augustus (Bronze in the Louvre), p. 20.

The religious organization of the Empire is but imperfectly understood. Numerous inscriptions, however, which show the existence in the cities of a perpetual flamen,[2] reveal the intention

[1] Gregory of Tours, i. 30.

[2] A citizen of Lyons gave great sums of money, *ob honorem perpetui pontificatus.* (Orelli-Henzen, No. 4020.) The perpetuity was in the title, not in the office, which was annual.

of establishing a sort of religious discipline. This flamen, who must have previously filled all the municipal offices, *omnibus honoribus functus*, played the same part in his city, it is evident, as that of the pontifex maximus at Rome, the same, too, that the Christian bishop filled later in the episcopal cities. Pledged to the worship of the local divinities, and also to that of the gods of the Empire, this functionary regulated the ritual and sealed the religious alliance of Rome with her subjects.

Diana of Ephesus (Vatican Mus.).[2]

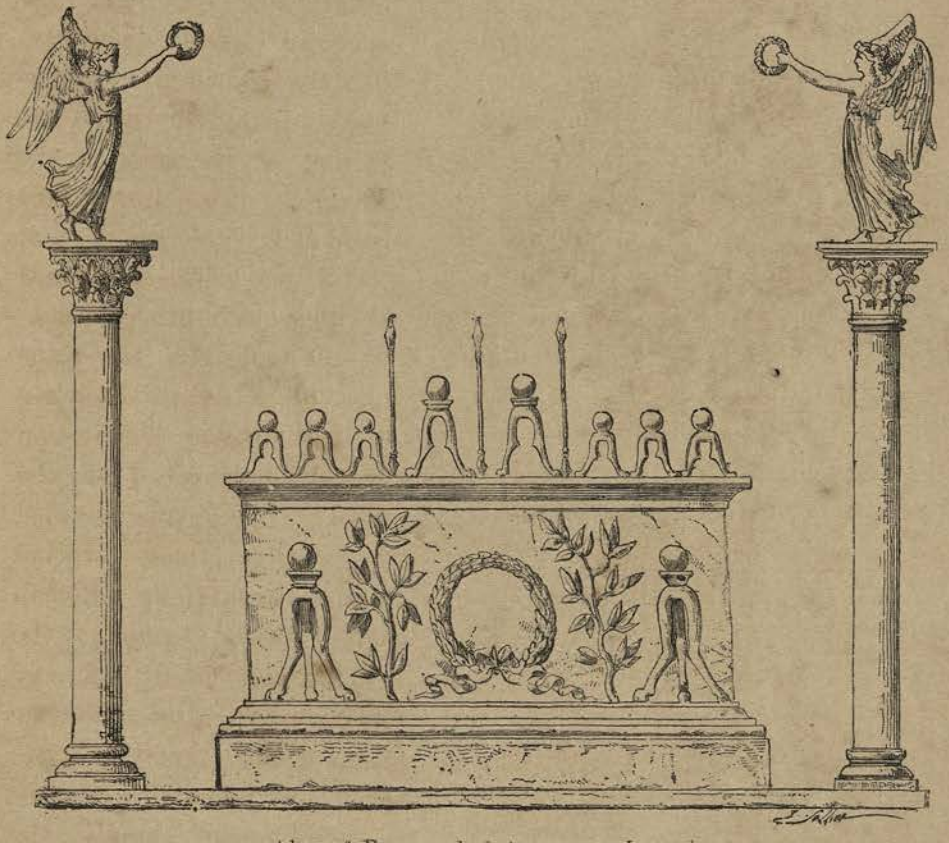
We discern the same idea of religious discipline in a singular institution which is described in the *Digest*.[1] Augustus decided that only the Tarpeian Jupiter among the Roman gods should enjoy the honour and profit of the *jus trium liberorum;* but he granted the same right to seven provincial divinities—the Didymæan Apollo, the Gallic Mars, the Minerva of Ilion, the Hercules of Gades, Diana of the Ephesians, the Mother of the Gods, worshipped at Smyrna, and the Celestial

[1] Ulp., *Liber singularis Regularum*, xxii. 6. The governors were all expressly charged to protect the domains of the temples and their immunities. (Aggen. Urbicas, *ap Goes.*, 74.)

[2] The Diana of the Greek Olympus is a shy, graceful virgin, goddess of the night, loving the woods, and for ever pursuing her game with the golden bow, a symbol of the crescent moon. Like the Athene of Athens, she had never been willing to know the joys of maternity. The Diana of Ephesus, on the contrary, the old Asiatic goddess, symbolizes the fecundity of nature; her body is covered with breasts, πολύμαστος; upon the cover which wraps her like a mummy are designed oxen, lions, etc.; she is the power of life. (Strabo, xiv. 614; Pausan., iv. 31, 6.) Statues like the above are common in the museums of Italy.

Virgin of Carthage. Legacies from the pious could be received only in the temples of these divinities, who by this decree were particularly pointed out to public devotion.

The religious system of the Empire expands, therefore, and at the same time concentrates. It expands by the worship of the Lares, it concentrates by this recognition of the superiority of



Altar of Rome and of Augustus at Lyons.[1]

a small number of national divinities. But a step further was taken: monarchy existed upon earth; it was established also in heaven by the institution in all the provinces, both eastern and western, of an official religion whose source was the emperor. In the year 12 B.C., upon the invitation of Drusus, the deputies of the three Merovingian provinces assembled at Lyons, decided there should be erected at the public expense, at the junction of the

[1] Restoration by Monfalcon. (*Hist. Mon. de la Ville de Lyon*, vol. i. *ad fin.*)

Saone and the Rhone,[1] an altar dedicated to Rome and to Augustus, and that around the colossal statue of the emperor or of the Eternal City[2] should be erected sixty lesser statues, representing the sixty Gallic cities, whose names were to be engraved on the altar of the gods.[3] The work being finished, a noble Eduan, client of the Julian house, elected by the assembly and assisted by the other priest of the Augustal worship, celebrated the inauguration of the temple.[4] Every year, on the first day of August, the deputies of the *Comatæ* provinces, surrounded by an immense concourse, presented themselves here and offered sacrifices and burnt incense to the new gods of Gaul.

We know, without being able to give details, that the same thing occurred at Narbonne, at Tarragona, and at Merida, and we are justified in saying, on the authority of Tacitus and Suetonius, also confirmed by very numerous medals and inscriptions, that all the provinces erected altars to Rome and to the Augusti.[5] Every year deputies elected by the states assembled in their capital cities, there to celebrate the grand *fête* of the Empire. The one having charge of the temple was called in the West, *sacerdos ad aram*, or the *flamen provinciæ;* in the East, ὁ ἀρχιερεύς, a title

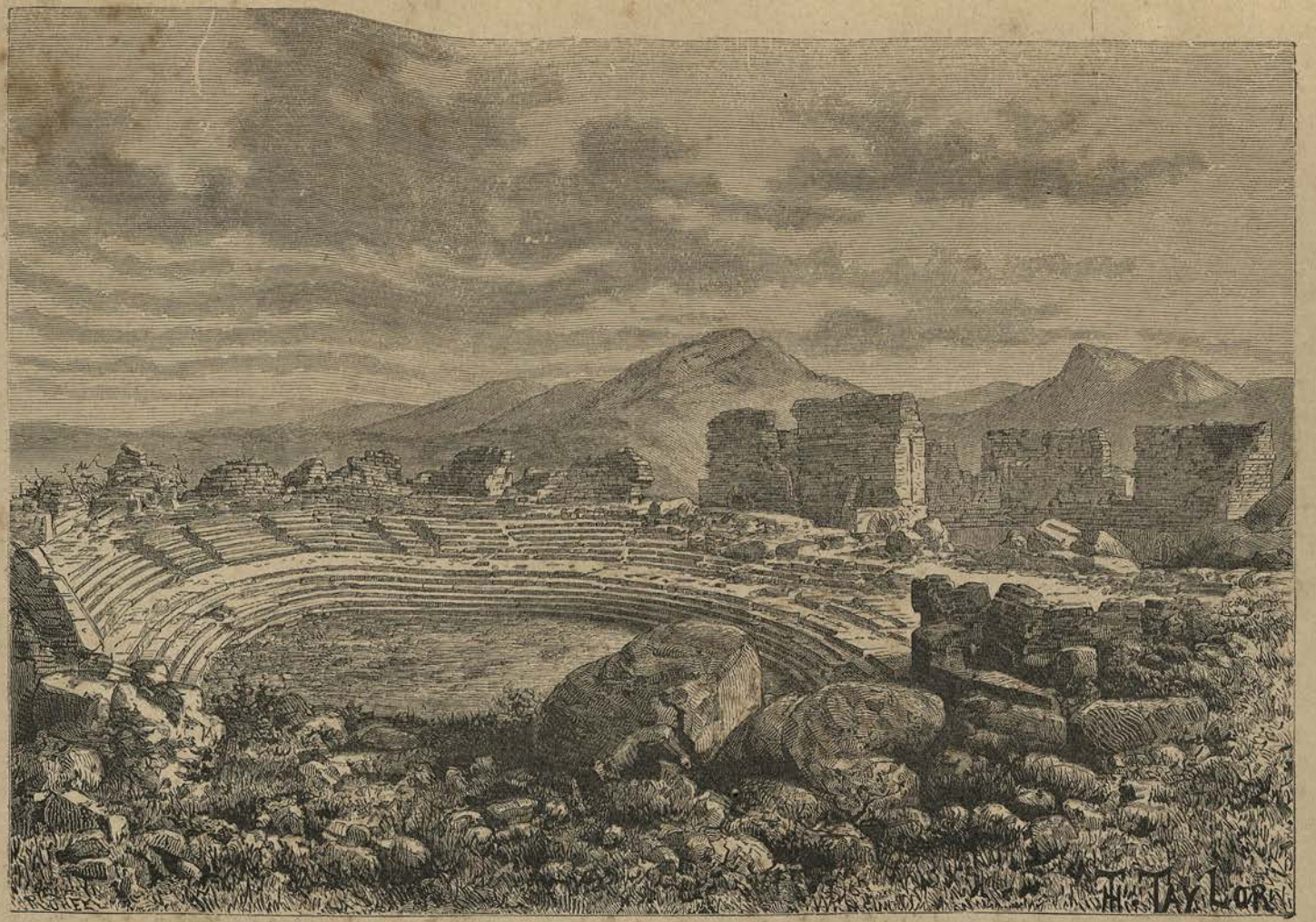
[1] The point of junction of these rivers has often changed; it must have been originally at the Place des Terreaux; in the sixteenth century it was south of Ainay; at the present time it is half a league distant, at La Mulatière. Excavations made in 1858 near the Place des Terreaux, in the former Jardin des Plantes, have brought to light the ruins of an amphitheatre and a mass of fragments which must have made part of a magnificent monument. Two enormous granite columns which adorned the altar of Augustus are in the church of Ainay. Monfalcon (*Hist. Mon. de Lyon*, vol. i. p. 46) is of opinion that they are very nearly in the place where they were originally erected.

[2] The text of Strabo (iv. 3, 2), corrupt in this place, leaves it uncertain whether the statue was of Rome or of the emperor. Before the battle of Actium there was already in Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people. (Dion, l. 8.)

[3] Strabo says sixty tribes; Tacitus, sixty-four; Ptolemy, sixty-three. In Upper Pannonia the statues of the cities of the province were also placed around the *Ara Augusti.* (*C. I. L.*, 4192, 4193.)

[4] 1st of August, 10 B.C. The same day Claudius, the future emperor, was born at Lyons. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxvii., and Suet., *Claud.*, 2.)

[5] In speaking of the temple which the Spaniards erected to Augustus in the city of Tarragona, Tacitus says (*Ann.*, i. 78): *Datum in omnes provincias exemplum.* Suetonius (*Octav.*, 59) completes this idea: *Provinciarum pleræque super templa et aras, ludos quoque quinquennales pene oppidatim constituerunt.* We know there were temples of Rome and Augustus at Tarragona and Merida in Spain, at Tingis in Mauretania, at Pola in Istria, at Ephesus, Nicæa, Smyrna, Sardis, Cyme, Pergamos, Nicomedia, Cyzicus, Ancyra, Milassa, Cæsarea in Palestine, and other cities. Ephesus and Nicæa had temples of Cæsar and Rome. Καὶ τοῦτ' ἐκεῖθεν ἀρξάμενον καὶ . . . . οὐ μόνον ἐν τοῖς Ἑλληνικοῖς ἔθνεσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὅσα τῶν Ῥωμαίων ἀκούει ἐγένετο. (Dion, li. 20.)



Roman Amphitheatre at Merida.

which the Greeks employed in speaking of the sovereign pontificate of the emperor, *μέγας ἀρχιερεύς*. This high priest, the most important personage in his province,[1] had a kind of jurisdiction over the clergy of the province,[2] as the flamen in a city had over those of his own town, and this primacy fell as a legacy to the archbishop in the Christian church. All the provinces, therefore, had a religious centre where the same divinity was worshipped. The old gods, humbling their pride before these new divinities, gave up to them their own most stately ceremonies, their largest crowds of worshippers;[3] and the adoration of Rome and the Augusti became the real religion of the Empire. The cities did the same as the provinces; each one had its *flamen Augusti*. In Cæsar's time the scribes of Osuna swore by Jupiter and the Penates, the Republican oath; in the time of Domitian, the duumvirs of Malaga swore by the Divinity of the dead emperors, the Genius of the living emperor, and by the Penates[4]—by the local divinities, that is, and by gods unknown to the Capitol before Augustus.

We have used the word clergy; it can be applied to the priests of the Augustal worship only with an important restriction. These priests, who are primarily citizens, are ex-magistrates, *omnibus honoribus functi*, members of the Curia, subject to the public authority which keeps the control of religious matters, the management of property devoted to the service of the temple, and of the funds obtained by collections made within the sacred edifice, *in sedes sacras*, and exacts the fines which may be devoted to defraying the expenses of the ritual. In the colony of Osuna, the duumvirs were the persons who decided how many feasts there should be in the year, and upon what days these, the

[1] This he was as late as 359. (Cf. *Code Theod.*, XII. i. 148.)

[2] Waddington, *Voy. arch. en Asie Min.*, n. 885; Perrot, *Explorat. archéol.*, p. 200. The letters of Julian, 49, 62, and 63, show this jurisdiction in the fourth century. [Eusebius (*H. E.*, viii. 14) says it was established by Maximin Daza, rival of Licinius. Maximin no doubt only revived an older institution. We know that in the earlier Empire the Roman college of pontiffs and that of the xv. *viri sacris faciundis* had the control of religious affairs. Pliny in his *Letters* shows that a tomb could not be moved, even in Bithynia, without the authority of the pontiffs at Rome, and an inscription from Puteoli shows us that the election of municipal priests must be ratified, at least in Italy, by the xv. viri S F. (Mommsen, *I. R. N.*, 2558.) This was a consequence of the *Sen. Cons. de Bacch.* (Cf. ii. p. 251.)—*Ed.*]

[3] See in Tertullian (*Apol.*, 35) a description of the feast of the Cæsars. The Christian orator shows, naturally enough, only the extravagances of the public joy.

[4] *Lex Malacitana*, § 59; *Bronzes d'Osuna*, § 81.

sacrifices, and other solemnities should take place.[1] The flamen, therefore, was obliged to act in concert with the magistrates. During the entire duration of the heathen Empire, religious and political authority were blended, but in such wise that the former always remained subordinated to the latter. This was an essentially Roman principle of government, and later, determined the action of the emperors towards dissenters.

The religious revolution we have just described was not the work of a day; but it was very rapidly achieved, for Augustus obtained what is most necessary to a statesman, time—for forty-four years he was able to prosecute his designs. The Augustal worship, early established upon the banks of the Rhine, among the Ubii,[2] had already been carried, fifteen years before the beginning of the Christian era, into the regions between the Elbe and Oder.[3] That it could go so far as this proves that it must have been very rapidly accepted in the old provinces.[4]

It does not appear that the people were at all opposed to these changes, which were made without violence, and were authorized by customs as well as by beliefs. The druidic priests, only, considered themselves persecuted, and so indeed they were, but in a peculiar way. Augustus divided Druidism into two parts; he accepted its gods, and rejected its priests. Against the latter he promulgated no decree, but in giving the Gauls the municipal organization of Italy, he took away from the Druids, without appearing to concern himself with them, their judicial power, which passed over to the duumvirs of the newly constituted states. By his new sacerdotal colleges he rendered the earlier useless, and in applying to Gaul the general laws of the Empire, which forbade secret associations and nocturnal assemblies, he obliged those who still wished to practise their religion of terror to hide it, while the official religion attracted to its new altars the crowd allured by its

[1] See Articles 64, 72, and 128 of the Law of Genetiva, with M. Giraud's commentary, *Nouveaux Bronzes d'Osuna*, chap. iv., v., and vi.

[2] The son of Segestes, a chief of the Cherusci, was *sacerdos ad aram Ubiorum.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 30, 57.)

[3] Dion, lv. 10.

[4] Even the worship of the *divæ* was very early accepted by them. Less than a quarter of a century after Augustus, an Augustal priest at Avaricum consecrated a monument *pro salute Cæsarum et populi Romani* to Minerva, and to *diva* Drusilla, after the death of Drusilla, therefore, and before that of Claudius, between 38 and 41 A.D. (*Revue archéol.*, December, 1879.)

brilliant and cheerful ceremonial. In the name of humanity, he prohibited the human sacrifices which early decrees of the senate had forbidden,[1] and permitted only slight libations of blood made by voluntary victims; in the name of ambition, he summoned to the worship of the gods of the Empire all those who desired to emerge from the obscurity of the province, when he established the rule that the observance of the old rites was incompatible with Roman citizenship, and that a man must speak Latin before he could be admitted to the legions, the public offices, or the honours of Rome.[2]

The druidic body was not persecuted in the least, and still it received a mortal blow;[3] but their gods were saved by the ingenious combination that Augustus had effected between the religions of Gaul and of Rome.[4] The old Gallic altars remained standing in the broad daylight of the cities, and the Romans beheld a grotesque pantheon of horned and three-headed gods, seated in the attitude of the Indian Buddha, strange objects that the Greeks would have regarded as monstrosities.

In 1711 there was discovered in Paris, under the choir of the Cathedral of Notre Dame, an altar consecrated to Tiberius by the boatmen of the Seine, *Nautæ Parisiaci;* beside Gallic gods, whose names had been changed to Jupiter and Vulcan, was Esus cutting the sacred mistletoe, the god Taurus, TARVOS TRICARANVS, and the god Cernunnos. Upon the altar of Rheims, between the classic Mercury and Apollo, is carved, in the place of honour, a horned god, seated cross-legged, dispensing from a leathern sack the

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 5, in the year 97 B.C. It was in virtue of this law that Tiberius crucified the African priests who sacrificed children to their god Moloch. (Tertul., *Apol.*, 9.) Pliny, however, attests that in his time, for religious or political motives, men were buried alive (xxviii. 3). A similar execution took place under Julius Cæsar, probably as a religious expiation.

[2] Latin was the language of the army (Suet., *Tib.*, 71), of the government, and of affairs; Claudius deposed the Greek judges who could not speak Latin, and took from them their title of citizen. (Suet., *Claud.*, 16; Dion, xl. 17.) In the Hellenized East, which had an important literature, persons of consequence learned Latin [though so learned a man as Plutarch complains of the difficulties in understanding it], but they and the people preserved their own language. The populations of the western provinces, whose past did not protect them against the invasion of a higher civilization, became the pupils of Rome, and still speak her language.

[3] I have discussed the question of the suppression of the Druids in the *Revue archéol.* of April, 1880.

[4] Inscriptions have already brought to our knowledge fourteen goddesses and thirty-six gods of Gaul, whose names are given by Al. Bertrand in the *Revue archéol.* of June, 1880.

beech-nuts or acorns that an ox and a stag receive. The twisted

Vulcan.

Jupiter.

Esus.

The God Taurus.

Fragments of an Altar found under Notre Dame in Paris (Museum of Cluny).

collar (*torc*) around his neck shows his Gallic character. Still more

grotesque is the altar at Beaune, with its three-headed god, flanked by Apollo and a horned divinity with goat's feet. In other monuments the Roman element does not even appear. These three-headed objects are hideous, as in the altar of Beaune, or barbaric, like that at Rheims; but they rudely express a profound idea which the Celts brought from the East, where the Pelasgi also found it,[1] that of a Supreme God, one in essence and divided into three persons. Had the Armorican Abelard these Gallic *tricephalæ*

The God Cernunnos (Museum of Cluny).[2]

in mind when he conceived the Christian Trinity as a god with three heads?

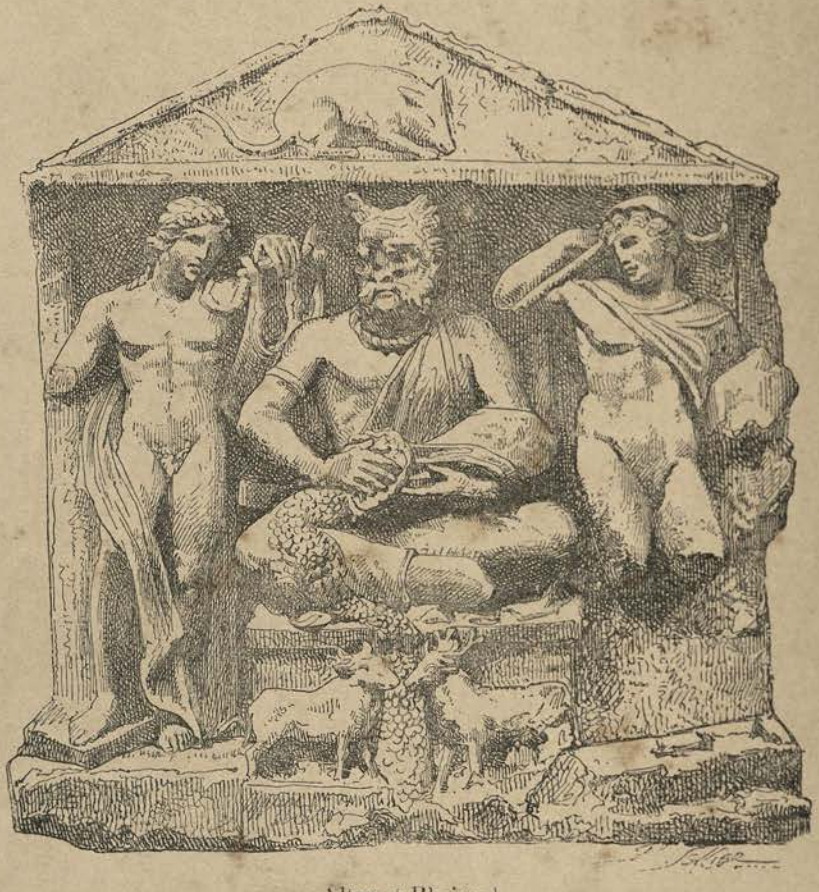
The Greeks had preserved this Oriental tricephalic conception only for malevolent or infernal beings, Cerberus and the hydra of Lerna [also the triple Hecate], and the Romans, notwithstanding their Janus and their double-faced Hermes, were not more fond than the Greeks of these unnatural representations.[3] Their influence

[1] See vol. i. p. 42.

[2] The lower part of this bas-relief is broken. The god, doubtless, was seated in the Buddhic attitude, the size of the head and bust making it probable that the legs were folded under him. Only four of these figures are given above. There are eleven others and one inscription cut upon the sixteen faces of four great blocks of stone.

[3] The Hermes *bifrons* of the Romans do not represent one god in two persons, but rather two distinct personages. (See vol. i. p. 656, the Hermes representing Faunus and Tutanus.) The Hermes which gives us the bust of Metrodorus (vol. ii. p. 216) bears on the other side the figure of Epicurus.

brought the Gauls by slow degrees to abandon these monstrosities. But the extremely vital idea of a divine triad is preserved and re-appears in the statuette of Autun, which bears above the ears of the principal head two small heads which are scarcely in relief upon the skull. All these gods had horns, a sign of the divine power, which the Africans gave to Jupiter Ammon, and the people



Altar at Rheims.[1]

of the East to Alexander. They also wore the torc, another mysterious symbol of divine command and military authority. In the lap of the god at Autun is one of them, adorned by two marine monsters with ram's heads.

This religious reform, which had silently suppressed a national clergy and gathered into one the religious beliefs of all the

[1] Gallic triad. The three-headed god has divided; Esus-Jupiter is attended by his Roman family, Apollo and Mercury.

subjects of Rome, had been well conducted; but this worship of the Augusti amazes us, and the adorers of power appear to us ignoble indeed. We shall be less surprised and less severe if we remember that, in all ages, man, overwhelmed by the vastness of heaven, has been obliged to people that formidable solitude. In the Middle Ages it was virtue, or what was so

Altar of Beaune.

Tricephalus of Rheims.

esteemed, which led to heaven; among the ancients, virtue was strength, *vis*, and in the Greece of Homer, heroes were honoured as demi-gods. In the Egypt of the Pharaohs, "where all was god, save God himself," the kings called themselves children of the Sun, begotten by Ammon, and the people believed them. The Ptolemies went further, aspiring to be gods during their lifetime; they were so, and the evil spread through Syria, Asia Minor, and even Macedonian Greece. Rome long resisted this,

but the doctrine that the gods were but the upright kings of ancient times whom the gratitude of their subjects had apotheosized, had prepared the higher classes in Rome to accept without much resistance the divine character of the Cæsars, while the crowd

Gallic God in Buddhic Attitude (Statuette at Autun).[1]

was already gained over to this innovation by the ideas which had long been familiar to them.

In Italy, the faith most deeply rooted in the popular heart and the most to be respected, the belief in the Manes, made the dead the protecting genii of the living. "The mind is a god," said Euripides, and Cicero repeats this.[2] All the rites performed around the tomb and at the domestic hearth, which formed the true popular religion, arose from this idea.

[1] The statuette is represented in front view and in profile, to show the little head over the ear, a last trace of the ancient *tricephaly*.

[2] *Animus divinus est* (Cic., *Tusc.*, i. 26), and he adds (*ibid.*, 27): *cæleste et divinum ob eamque rem æternum sit necesse est.*

In the imagination of these men, the *divi manes*, being purified by the funereal ceremonies,[1] and becoming the object of a private or public worship, a worship of memory, affection, and respect, silently peopled the depths of the earth and the serene regions of the sky, whence they protected those whom they had left. "Donata," says an inscription, "thou who wast pious and virtuous, save all thy kindred!"[2] And they were invoked as the Roman Catholic church invokes the saints: *Hic invocatur Fructuosus.*[3] Every man had his Genius, and this belief had become so habitual to the Romans that they applied it everywhere. Numerous inscriptions show soldiers seriously paying homage to the Genius of their cohort or of their post, and tax-gatherers offering libations to the Genius of the internal revenue.[4] Art took up the idea and ennobled it as it does all which it touches: in a painting recently found upon the Esquiline, the city of Lanuvium herself assists at the reconstruction of her walls.[5] In the family this faith rose to the dignity of a filial sentiment. "The Genius," says Paulus the lawyer, "is son of the gods, and father of men," and elsewhere: *Genius meus nominatur qui me genuit.*[6] Three centuries earlier Cicero had written: "We should regard the relatives whom we have lost as divine kings."[7] The tomb was the altar where the dead was admitted to the number of the gods: *aram consecravit*, says a sepulchral inscription.[8]

[1] An inscription reads: .... *opertis* [*i.e. rite sepultis*] *manibus, divina vis est.* (Wilmanns, 1225 c.)

[2] Léon Renier, *Inscr. d'Alg.*, 283; Cf. Orelli-Henzen, Nos. 6206 and 7400: *Pete pro parentes tuos, Matronata*, says this latter inscription, with an error which an educated man would not have made, itself a proof how much hold this belief had upon the popular mind.

[3] *C. I. L.*, ii. 5052.

[4] *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr.*, 1868, p. 109. In the camp at Lambese all worship was addressed to the Genius of the legion and the Genius of the camp, the eagle and the standard bearing the emperor's likeness. These were the gods that the legion carried with them wherever they went. As for Jupiter and the other divinities, both Roman and foreign, their altars were outside the camp. (Wilmanns, *Mém. sur Lambèse*, 1877, ap. *Commentat. philolog.*)

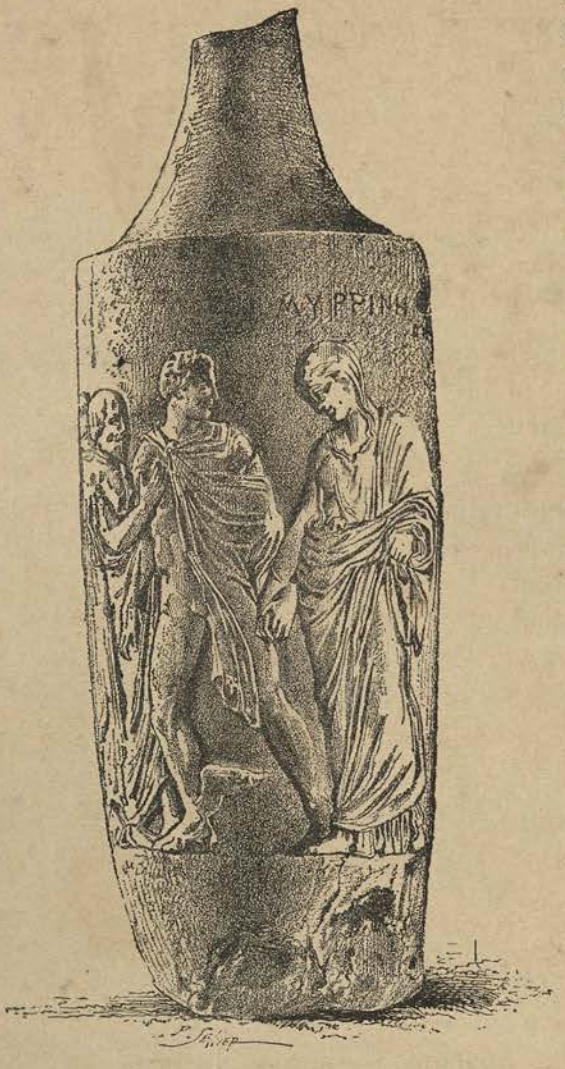
[5] See the chromo-lithograph, vol. iii., facing p. 500.

[6] An inscription in Narbonne reads: *Genio patrono.* (*Revue archéol.*, May, 1879.)

[7] *De Leg.*, ii. 9 [also for details of the will of Epicteta, Cauer, *Del. Inscr. græc.*, p. 77 (1877), and K. F. Hermann, *Gott. Alt.*, § 16].

[8] Orelli-Henzen, No. 5087. Another is thus expressed: *Deæ domiuæ Rufiæ Maternæ; aram et lucum consecravit Macronia Marcia et ei omnibus annis sacrificium instituit.* (Orelli, No. 4587.) Still another is in these words: *In hoc tumulo jacet corpus cujus spiritus inter deos receptus est.* (Orelli-Henzen, No. 7418.) Cf. also Wilmanns, 241.

This idea of paternity and protectorship, essential in the conception of the Genii,[1] was one of the religious elements of the Aryan race: the *Ferouer* of the Persians are the Genii of the Romans, and the Greek dead became divine in their Elysium. Upon her funereal monument Myrrhine has the figure of a god. It is easy to understand how a faith springing from the deepest religious consciousness of these nations should have naturally led devotees, hypocritical or sincere, to regard him whom the senate called the Father of the Country as the Genius of the Empire.



Funereal Monument of Myrrhine (Louvre).[3]

A decree of the senate made a legal obligation of it, requiring that in private houses, as well as in temples, libations should be made in honour of Augustus,[2] and Horace, Ovid, and Petronius prove

[1] *Genius deorum filius et parens hominum, ex quo homines gignuntur.* (Preller, *Röm. Mythol.*, p. 69.) Censorinus (*de Die nat.* 3) thus defines the Genius: *Genius est deus cujus in tutela, ut quisque natus est, vivit. Hic, sive quod, ut genamur, curat, sive quod una genitur nobiscum, sive etiam quod nos genitos suscipit ac tuetur, certe a genendo Genius adpellatur.* Censorinus wrote in the third century of the Christian era. I have quoted a decree of Theodosius (p. 20) which shows the worship of Genii still flourishing in 392.

[2] Dion, li. 19, after the death of Antony.

[3] Ravaisson, *Les Monuments funéraires des Grecs*, in the *Revue des religions*, vol. ii. p. 15. Upon this monument Myrrhine is of the same stature as Mercury, while the members of her

that this usage was rapidly established.[1] "At his evening meal the rejoicing peasant calls thee to his table; he pours for thee the wine from his cup, and addresses his prayer to thee and to the Lares." If we doubt the poet, we may read a curious inscription of the duumvirs of Florence, in the year 18 A.D., ordering wine and incense to be offered to the Genii of Augustus and Tiberius, and that they be invited to the feast celebrated in their honour by all the decurions.[2] It was believed that the prince from beyond the tomb watched over his people as a father over his children; and an inscription of the Arval brothers called him *parens publicus*.[3]

Tutela.[4]

Another very early habit of mind arising from the incapacity of these men to conceive a god in his sovereign greatness, had led them to submit the divine beings to a most strange analysis. Each attribute became a distinct god. A

family yet alive are of inferior stature. The illustrations in vol. ii., pp. 312 and 799, have already shown the custom of ancient artists of indicating the divine character of their personages by loftier stature.

[1] Horace, *Odes*, iv. 5, 35; Ovid, *Fasti*, ii. 635; Petronius, 60: *Augusto, patri patriæ, feliciter.*

[2] Orelli, No. 686.

[3] Orelli-Henzen, No. 7849. The Asiatics were so familiar with this belief, that under Augustus, the kings of the allies resolved to finish at the common expense the greatest temple in the world, that of Olympian Zeus, at Athens, and to consecrate it to the Genius of the emperor. (Suet., *Octav.*, 60.)

[4] Silver figurine in the British Museum, published in the *Gazette archéol.*, 1879, pl. 11.

goddess, Tutela, even represented in a special and consequently more certain manner the protection which each god should give to his worshippers.[1] "The image of Tutela is in every house,"[2] says S. Jerome. What had been done in respect to the divine attributes was next done in respect to human qualities. Cicero speaks of cities where the virtues of Quintus, his brother, had been canonized and placed among the gods.[3]

With these habits of mind it was easy for the Romans, in thinking of the emperor, to make a distinction between the prince himself, who sometimes committed so many crimes and foolish acts, and that imperial intelligence, always the same under different names, thanks to which a hundred million persons during two centuries never witnessed a popular insurrection, nor saw the camp-fires of a foe.[4] The happy inspiration which directed this policy was regarded as the divine element which must be worshipped. In the temples of the new faith, adoration was addressed therefore less to the prince than to the Genius of the Roman people, venerated under the double form of the Eternal City and the chief of the Empire—not the worship of a man, but the religion of the divinized State.[5]

The prince resided in a given place, but statues of him might be everywhere, and the image representing the Genius or *Numen Augusti* was an object of worship.[6] "The statues of the

[1] Manilius, *Astronomica*, ii. 423–428:

. . . . *Restat . . . noscere tutelas . . .*
Cum divina dedit (*Natura*) *magnis virtutibus ora*
Condidit et varias sacro sub nomine vires.

[2] Isaiah, 57.

[3] . . . . . *in quibus tuas virtutes consecratas et in deorum numero collocatas vides.* (*Ad Quint.*, i. 1.)

[4] With the one exception of the bloody interlude of a civil war, lasting eighteen months, which followed upon the death of Nero.

[5] We must distinguish between the provincial worship of Rome and of Augustus, and the altogether Roman worship rendered to the *divi*. Each apotheosized emperor had his flamen as Jupiter, Mars, and Quirinus had long had, and were honoured collectively, each under his own name, by the college of *sodales Augustales*, composed of the chief personages of the Empire. In the provincial worship of Rome and Augustus, that is to say, of the State, the reigning emperor was honoured, but without his personal name. It has been already shown (p. 19) in what way the worship of the Lares Augusti united the local religions with the official faith. Not all the emperors became *divi*. Of the twelve Cæsars first in order, there were but five who obtained the *consecratio* from the senate; and according to the *Actæ* of the Arval brothers, up to the time of Commodus in 193 there had been but sixteen. See E. Desjardins, *Le Culte des divi*.

[6] By the same process of analysis, the Greeks made a divinity of Rome itself, and after the

gods," says Melito, bishop of Sardes, "are less venerated than those of the Cæsars."[1] Tertullian is often angry with the pagan emperors, but for all that he places them very near God: *A deo secundi, solo deo minores;* and in the middle of the fourth century, in the presence of triumphant Christianity, Aurelius Victor wrote:[2] "Princes and the noblest of mortals, by the integrity of their lives, merit entrance into heaven and the glory of being venerated as equal to the gods."

The words "equal to the gods" are too strong. The personage proclaimed *divus* was by no means completely a god,[3] any more than are the *divi* or saints of Christianity. But "he was more than man, a sort of incarnate and present divinity to whom were

Introduction of a Soul into Olympus.[4]

due faithful worship and unlimited devotion."[5] The heaven of the heathen world was very near to earth; all these ideas still further lessened the interval separating the domain of men from that of the gods; and "the road to Jupiter," as Pindar says, was easily traversed by princes many of whom seem to us to merit the severest judgment of history. Those who had been honoured on earth were honoured in the skies, unless the senate had caused them to be dragged to the Gemoniæ. . . . . "We have given back his body to nature," said Tiberius, at the

defeat of Mithridates temples were consecrated in Asia to the city of Rome. (Tacit., *Ann.*, iv. 56.) Before the battle of Actium there was at Rome a temple consecrated to the Genius of the Roman people. (Dion, l. 8.)

[1] *Spiceleg. Solesm.*, ii. p. xli. Melito was a contemporary of Marcus Aurelius.

[2] *De Cæsaribus*, 38.

[3] Referring to the apotheosis of Commodus, decreed by Septimius Severus, Dion (lxxv. 7) translates the Latin word *consecratio* which made a *divus*, by ἡρωικὰς ἐδίδου τιμάς. The Pope, in the Roman Catholic church, is also called during his life-time *divus* or His Holiness. [The distinction between the official vicar of Christ and the often faulty person of the Pope has also its analogy in what has been said above.—*Ed.*]

[4] Bas-relief on the cover of a sarcophagus in the Borghese Villa.

[5] *Id.*, liii. 16: . . . . Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν ἐπεκλήθη. Cf. Vegetius, ii. 5.

funeral of his adopted father; "let us now worship his soul as divine."[1]

The worship that, according to these ideas, should be rendered at Rome to the dead Augustus, was paid in the provinces to Augustus yet alive, and no one was scandalized, for what these nations accorded to the illustrious pacificator of the world was no more than what the senate under the Republic had accorded to obscure proconsuls, authorizing these officials to permit the erecting to themselves of temples by the people of the provinces over which they ruled.[2] Cicero, who refused the honour for himself, resolved to build a shrine to his daughter, and a mere prætor had altars[3] in Rome itself, as had also throughout the Roman territory the old kings of Latin legend, Picus, Faunus, and Latinus, the native gods of the country. We also apotheosize, but without having faith in what we do; for us it is a question of art, but for the ancients it was an article of creed, and even after the age of scepticism had begun most persons had faith in this. In the worship of the Cæsars, therefore, were blended old and dear habits of devotion to the gods giving security, abundance, and joy, the familiar Lar or protecting Genius, and the Penates. These divinities, originally distinct, were now but one: the Augustal Providence, Σεβαστὴ πρόνοια,[4] and two words sum up its benefits: *Pax Romana.* All the emperors, even the insane ones, were in the eyes of the people the personification of this divinity, and for two centuries the provincial writers

[1] Dion, lvi. 41. Varro considered it suitable that cities should apotheosize their founders [as Greek cities had long since done.] (S. Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, iii. 4); Cicero esteemed this custom wise (*de Consol. fragm.*), and thought that virtuous men, *bonis studiis atque artibus expolitos, leni quodam et facili lapsu ad deos, id est ad naturam sui similem pervolare.*

[2] Cicero, *ad Quint.*, i. 1, 9; *ad Att.*, v. 21. Concerning the temples erected in honour of Flamininus, see vol. ii. p. 38. In Cato's time, Smyrna consecrated a temple to the city of Rome. (Tacit., *Ann.*, iv. 56.) After the war with Perseus, Rhodes placed in her principal sanctuary the colossal statue of the Roman people. (Polyb., xxxi. 16.) Alexandria made Augustus, after his death, the protector of sailors. (Philo, *Legat. ad Caium*, p. 784.) Athens honoured his grandson Caius Cæsar as a new god, and gave a priest to Drusus. (*C. I. G.*, 181, 264 and 311.) A contemporary of Augustus, Labeo, had a temple at Cyme. Cf. Egger, *Mem. of Ancient History*, p. 78; and in the *C. I. G.* an inscription from Olbia, 2087; from Paphos, 2629; from Aphrodisias, 2788; from Nisa, 2943, etc. See in *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. i. p. 466 (duod. ed.), a dissertation by the Abbé Mongault on the divine honours accorded in the time of the Republic.

See vol. ii. p. 609. . . . *Cui vicatim populus statuas posuerat, cui thure et vino supplicabat.* (Seneca, *de Ira*, iii. 18.) See, for other examples, *C. I. G.*, Nos. 311, 3514, etc.

[4] Le Bas, *Inscr.*, iii. 858.

celebrated its praises with enthusiastic gratitude. *Vale, Roma*, says a Pompeian inscription; "Happiness to the Emperor Augustus," says another; and a third adds: "Our princes being preserved we are happy for eternity."[1] Making all due allowance for official flattery, there is still to be heard in these sentiments an echo of public opinion, which in times less prosperous is wont to pronounce a different utterance.

The Romans were too strict logicians not to develop from the new religion all the latent effects useful to their policy. The emperor being *divus*, to swear by his name, by his fortune, or by his Genius became an act which the law sanctioned and made binding. Any one who should violate an engagement thus made was beaten with rods, *Temere ne jurato*;[2] and this oath was required of all municipal magistrates.[3] The emperor's statue had even a privilege which the Roman gods had not: the slave who succeeded in taking shelter beneath

Priestess of Isis.[4]

[1] *C. I. L.*, vol. iv. 1074, 1745.

[2] *Digest*, xii. 2, 13, § 6. The senate had already given legal force to the oath, "by the fortune of Cæsar." (Dion. xliv. 6.)

[3] On this point see p. 23. Cf. *C. I. L.*, vol. v. 172, and *C. I. G.*, 1933.

[4] Priestess of Isis with the lotos-flower upon her forehead, and holding in her hand a vase of lustral water. Statue in the Museum of the Capitol. [Note the beautiful draping of this figure, which is common in statues of Isis. The knotted ends belong to the mantle wrapping the figure.—*Ed.*]

it could not be torn thence;[1] and when a criminal was put to death in any place where this statue stood, it was customary to veil the sacred face.[2] Soon it became sacrilege to break this image, or

Mithra sacrificing a Bull.[3]

even so much as to retain upon the hand while attending to one's body the imperial head engraved upon a ring. The town of Cyzicus, which had rendered so great services to Rome in the

[1] Labeo, one of the lawers of Augustus, speaks of the slave *qui ad statuam Cæsaris confugit.* (*Digest*, xxi. 14, § 12.) This right had been recognized since the year 42 B.C., in the *Heroon* or chapel of Cæsar. See vol. iii. p. 463. The Greeks had extended this right of asylum so far as to render the administration of justice impossible; the Romans, with their good sense in matters of government, seem to have allowed this right only in the case of the emperor's statue and only to the slave taking refuge beneath it. Dion (xlvii. 19) says this expressly: *ὅπερ οὐδενὶ οὐδὲ τῶν θεῶν*, except in the case of the asylum of Romulus, which they early rendered inaccessible.

[2] Dion, lx. 12.

[3] Bas-relief in the Louvre. This is the most important monument remaining to us of the Persian worship of Mithra in the Roman Empire. Mithra, in his cavern, *spelæum*, sacrifices to Jupiter Sabazius, the bull, whose blood will give regeneration. Around the prostrate bull are a scorpion, a serpent, and a dog. To the right and left the Genius of the day with lighted torch, and of the night with torch extinguished. Overhead is the earth with its productions; higher still, Aurora about to disappear, and the sun ascending from the horizon. Upon the

affair of Mithridates, lost its liberty in consequence of neglecting this worship of Augustus.[1]

When the emperor had his temples in all the provinces, his priests in every city, his offerings in the *lararium* of each man's house, it might well appear that the Roman world was encompassed with religious bonds of a strong and durable character. The efforts made by Augustus to bring under control the thing most uncontrollable—religious belief, are a very masterpiece of skill. How easily, nevertheless, will religious emotion break the meshes of this net thrown over the human conscience! Men in public life will be able to content themselves with this cold and formal devotion, which gives no answer to the wants of the soul. Women, children, old men, persons of simple minds, while paying to the emperor the worship demanded by gratitude, will seek hope and comfort at other altars. From the East, that inexhaustible factory of religions, will come mystic or sensual ardours that neither policy nor persecution can control. Isis and Serapis, the Great Mother and the Phrygian Sabazius are already in Rome; Mithra will soon be there, with his baptism of blood;[2] and already in Judæa was growing up to manhood He whose disciples will confound all this wisdom. It will have endured, however, for more than three centuries—a very short life for a religion, but very long for a political institution. The official religion of Augustus, made up of old and new elements adroitly combined, was, in fact, only a great administrative measure.

IV.—The Provincial Assembly.

The principal machinery of this institution was the provincial assembly, which, besides its religious character, had, moreover, in a certain measure, a political character.

It has already been shown[3] that the ancients were not so

bull, the inscription: "To Mithra, the invincible Sun-God." This bas-relief was consecrated at Rome in a vault beneath the Capitol.

[1] *Incuria cærimoniarum divi Augusti.* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 36.)

[2] Under Claudius. (Orelli-Henzen, No. 5844.)

[3] See vol. ii. p. 194 *et sq.*

ignorant as has been supposed of the representative system, that is to say, of delegated sovereignty.

Provincial assemblies were an ancient institution, dear to all peoples of the Hellenic race. From the Adriatic to the Taurus we find it everywhere established; we again discover it among the Italiot populations, and Cæsar attests that it existed in Gaul, where every year he himself assembled states general of the entire country, *concilium totius Galliæ*. In Spain and Cilicia he did the same; and before undertaking his reforms in the organization of the provinces, Augustus summoned all the heads of the states to meet him at Narbonne. In peaceful times these assemblies were festive occasions; to the religious solemnity succeeded secular amusements, games, and shows embellished by all the arts. Rhetoricians and poets, artists and philosophers gathered on these occasions, and even traders, and this has always been the case. But the chief men of a province, *principes civitatum*, could not remain together many days without discussing their common affairs and wishes; and this we know, as a matter of fact, that they did.

Coin commemorative of Games in the Reign of Augustus.[1]

One of these provincial councils, that at Lyons, has left traces of its history, and, though they are only mutilated inscriptions, they suffice to prove that this assembly deliberated upon measures of general interest, since it voted, at one time, thanks and statues to the Roman and Gallic magistrates, at another, the indictment of the imperial legate before the senate and the emperor. For the support of the temple and its priests, for the erection of public buildings, for the expenses of the deputations sent to Rome, it had a treasury filled by means of a special assessment, its receipts, expenses, and litigations being in charge of regularly appointed officers. This assembly constructed an amphitheatre, where each deputy had his assigned seat, and feasts and games[2] were given there, notably contests of eloquence and

[1] M DVRMIVS IIIVIR· HONORI. The obverse, a diademed head; the reverse, AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, holding a palm. Silver coin of the Durmian family. Many temples at Rome were consecrated to Honor, whom the Romans divinized.

[2] In 1806 a fine mosaic representing the games of the circus was discovered at Lyons, under

of poetry, whose singular regulations have been preserved to us by Suetonius. It appears that Augustus granted this provincial senate the same right that he had allowed to the senate at Rome, namely, that of coining bronze money; at least, it is believed that the pieces representing the altar of Rome and of Augustus, surmounted by tripods, and having two columns at the corners bearing victories, were struck by order of the Lyonese assembly.[1] The notion of a common country appears from the omission of the name of any particular state; the pontiffs at the national altar are called the priests of the three Gauls; the place where the temple stood, although in the neighbourhood of Lyons, seems to have been a territory by itself—as is the district of Columbia in the United States, so was this domain the common possession of all Gallia Comata, while belonging to no one of the states composing the nation.

Altar at Lyons on a Great Bronze of Tiberius (reverse.)[2]

The people of the provinces, therefore, at the altar of a foreign master recovered their nationality; also they found justice there, which is the excuse for their apparent servility. Rome recognized in her subjects the right of addressing to her their complaints. Immediately upon the conquest of Greece and Macedon, the senate received the appeals of the allies,[4] and numerous laws *de pecuniis repetundis* regulated the procedures and penalties. One provision of these laws is remarkable: to secure to the provincials the means of criticizing the administration of their governor, the latter was required to deposit a copy of his accounts in two cities of his province.

The Three Gauls.[3]

the Rue du Rempart, two hundred paces distant from the site of the temple of Augustus. It is about fifteen feet wide and nine and a half long, and is preserved in the museum at Lyons. It is to be observed that the competitors wear only the four colours adopted before Domitian, representing the four seasons: green (spring), red (summer), blue (autumn), and white (winter). Domitian added to these four *factiones* the *factiones aurata* and *purpurea* (Suet., *Dom.*, 7).

[1] Bernard, *Descript. des Antiq., etc., de la Ville de Lyon*, pl. vi. Nos. 2–14.

[2] Comarmond, *op. cit.*, pl. xxvi. No. 4. See also p. 24 of this volume.

[3] Denarius of Roman Gaul, in the Cabinet de France.

[4] As early as 173 B.C. Livy, xliii. 1, and xlii. 2.

But if there were under the Republic some very conspicuous condemnations, there were also many scandalous acquittals and pretended punishments, and an accused person who went into voluntary exile retained possession of his property. In the time of the Empire, when the deputies arrived in Rome, the patron of the province received them into his palace; he conducted them to the senate, where a counsel was assigned them, selected from among the most eminent orators, and then began those memorable prosecutions of which Tacitus and the younger Pliny have told us. Both of these authors, who had been already consuls, were more than once appointed to serve on the committee of accusation. In the letters of Pliny we read of five governors sued by the provincial deputation, and of these five, three were condemned; in what is left to us of the books of Tacitus, twenty-two accusations and seventeen condemnations appear.[1] Ere long we shall hear Thrasea pronounce these significant words: "The subject nations once trembled before the republican proconsuls, now it is the imperial proconsuls who tremble before our subjects." And they had reason to tremble, for the penalty was not now, as under the Republic, a voluntary exile to the delightful groves of Tibur or Præneste, with the preservation of all one possessed; but it was the loss of fortune, and banishment to one of the Cyclades or the arid rock of Gyaros.[2]

The imperial government relied so completely upon the efficiency of the censorship intrusted to the provincial assemblies that Claudius made it a rule never to appoint a man to a new office until after an interval of several months, in order to leave time for complaints to reach the senate.[3] We have a list of gifts sent by an ex-legate to a deputy who, in a provincial assembly, had caused to be rejected a resolution to accuse at Rome his predecessors. The value of the gifts, and the terms in which the letter accompanying them was couched, show the alarm which

[1] Other examples are given in Dion and in Amm. Marcellinus.

[2] The exile was sent to some island at least fifty miles from the main land, unless, by special favour he were permitted to reside in Sardinia, or in Cos, Rhodes or Lesbos. The richest were not allowed to retain out of their fortunes more than 125,000 denarii (Dion, lvi. 27), and were not permitted to dispose of this property by will. (*Digest*, xxvii. 1, 18, and Dion, lvii. 22.)

[3] Dion, Lx. 25.

these accusations caused, and the good conduct in office which they must have inspired.[1]

The people of the provinces called for rewards for their governors as well as punishments. Resolutions passed by a provincial assembly in favour of the legate recommended him to the prince for further honours,[2] and Augustus, attaching much importance to these manifestations, took care to insure their sincerity. He would not allow the subjects to be brought up in the presence of the magistrate who was to be the object of these expressions of gratitude; an interval of at least sixty days after the expiration of the governor's term of office was required before the deliberation upon this vote of thanks was in order. A rescript of the year 331 refers to this twofold right[3] of commendation or censure, and the *Digest* shows that the emperor replied directly to the assembly.[4]

The provincials made use of the formidable privilege of accusation only in the last extremity; but frequently they sent deputations to Rome bearing their requests, *preces sociorum*, and good emperors regarded it as a part of their duty to listen to these prayers. Tacitus and Dion tell us of this in the case of Tiberius,[5] and we may be sure it was so with Augustus and all who were truly emperors.

We have not the details of the ceremony of January 1st, which took place every year in the presence of the governor, for the renewal of the soldiers' and provincials' oath of fidelity.[6] The former were doubtless represented by their chiefs, the latter by their deputies, and it was still another occasion of meeting and of coming into mutual understanding.

[1] These presents were: a cloak from Canusium, a Laodicean dalmatic, a gold clasp set with precious stones, a pelt from Brittany, a seal-skin, and 25,000 sesterces, or a year's salary of a legionary tribune. The date given is 238, but the event took place about the year 225. [Seal-skin was considered an excellent protection against thunder-bolts. Augustus, who was much afraid of lightning, always wore one. Suet., *Octav.*, 29, 90.—*Ed.*]

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xv. 20; Dion, lvi. 25; Lampridius, *Alex. Sever.*, 22; Amm. Marcel., xxx. 5. Pliny the younger, in his Panegyric, devotes an entire paragraph (70) to the advantages of this custom in the just administration of the Empire.

[3] Dion, lvi. 25, and the *Theodosian Code*, i. 40, 3.

[4] *Divus Hadrianus τῷ κοινῷ Θεσσάλων . . . . rescripsit.* (*Digest*, v. i. 37; xlvii. 14, 1; xlix. 1, 1, etc.)

[5] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 13; Dion, lvii. 17.

[6] Pliny, *Epist.*, x. 28, 44, 45, 60, 101; Dion, lvii. 8. See *ap.* Wilmanns, *Inscr.*, 2839, the oath of the Aritienses (Alvega, near Abrantes).

The function and usefulness of these assemblies was long underrated,[1] but the traces of them are easily followed all through the duration of the Empire.[2] It has been forgotten that, with their right of accusing a guilty magistrate—not, as formerly, before those who were themselves his accomplices, but before a prince interested in doing justice in the provinces to the end that peace might prevail there—the provincial councils must have been a salutary check upon the imperial administration, and that to them must be ascribed a part of that prosperity to which every history of the early Empire bears witness. On one occasion even, they perhaps saved the Roman dominion, when, in the time of Vitellius, everything seemed to be breaking up, and Veleda was inciting Germany to revolt, the deputies of the Gallic states, being assembled at Rheims to decide whether they should take part with Civilis, summoned the Treviri, "in the name of the three Gauls," to lay aside their arms.[3]

When to these rights of the provincial assemblies we add those of the cities—popular comitia, the election of magistrates, jurisdiction of the duumvirs, unrestricted management of municipal affairs, even the organization, in case of need, of a city militia[4] —we are forced to acknowledge that there existed in this despotic Empire, as it is called, many principles of liberty, and we under-

[1] It may be permitted to me to remark that I called attention to their importance nearly forty years since in the first edition of this work. M. le Procureur-Général Humbert wrote recently with much reason: "Liberty became the victim of the immensity of a state which no one knew how to transform into a representative government." But it will not do to exaggerate the function of these assemblies, and make the *sacerdos provinciæ*, as has been said, "almost the governor's equal." The religious festival at which the pontiff presided had no more political importance than the French 15th of August under the Empire, or that of S. Louis under the Restoration. A crowd gathers around these official ceremonies by reason of the display made on such occasions, and finds in it an opportunity for a holiday. The prefects always wrote to the Emperor, as Pliny did to Trajan, on the subject of the prayers addressed "with pious zeal," by all Bithynia, "for the welfare of the prince." But the importance of the provincial assembly did not lie in this direction.

[2] . . . . *concilium quod apud eos est annuum.* (Amm. Marcel., xxviii. 6, and in many places in the *Digest* and the *Theod. Code, e.g.* xii. 5, 2, and 1, 7, 9, 12, 13, etc.) It is even spoken of in the middle of the 5th century. (Sid. Apoll., *Epist.*, i. 6, and *Pan. Av.;* Le Blanc, *Inscr. Chrét. de la Gaule,* No. 545 A.)

[3] It is needful, however, to avoid confusing this assembly at Rheims, under exceptional circumstances, with the regular assembly at Lyons. The former was of the nature of Cæsar's *concilium Galliæ,* and was convoked at the instigation of the partisans of Rome.

[4] Article 103 of the law of *Genetiva Julia.* Cf., in the *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, the author's study on the *Tribuni militum a populo.* The question of municipal liberties is treated in chapter lxxxiii., entitled *The City.*

stand the legitimacy of the imperial government in the eyes of the subject nations. We shall see in the course of this history how and by what causes these municipal liberties gradually disappeared; but we can even now perceive how, in the design of Augustus, these provincial assemblies, useful in the administration of each province, would necessarily remain sterile as regards the general policy of the Empire.

The Romans, who cared not to intervene in the domestic affairs of their subjects, saw these assemblies without jealousy, and would, without regret, have allowed the emperor to increase their importance. This Julius Cæsar would assuredly have done—he who so well understood that Rome must broaden her institutions as she had enlarged her Empire, who had sent numerous colonies across the seas to latinize the conquered, who had given millions of foreigners the rights of citizens, had invited many provincials into the senate, and had decorated many of their cities with those monuments which Augustus reserved for Rome only. He would never have omitted to utilize, as sovereign, those assemblies from which, as general, he had been able to derive so much advantage. Augustus, satisfied with the services which they could afford to render him in the good government of the Empire, did not at all desire to make of them a political instrument. Intelligently developed, this institution would have furnished him with the point of support he found nowhere in a State disturbed by so many wars, decimated by so many proscriptions, where nothing strong was left, unless it were the fear of new wars and new proscriptions. In all the Empire he saw but Rome, and in Rome only the senate, which he would have gladly reduced to the number of three hundred members,[1] for the purpose of concentrating the government of the world in the hands of the Roman aristocracy, now docile to his authority; and, in respect to the deputies of the provinces, all he asked from them was to come and burn incense upon his altar.[2]

[1] Dion, liv. 14.

[2] The successors of Augustus long manifested the same distrust of the members of the provincial aristocracy. Those aspiring to public office were obliged to employ a third of their fortune in buying real estate in Italy (Pliny, *Epist.*, vi. 19); and when they obtained a seat in the senate they were obliged to come to reside in Rome, which was in itself not unreasonable,

V.—Organization of the Provinces.

Out of the eighteen years which followed the battle of Actium, Augustus spent at least eleven in organizing the provinces.[1]

Gaul and Spain occupied him first. He went thither at the close of the year 27 B.C. after having caused all the armies and half of the provinces to be legally conferred upon himself at Rome, where he left Agrippa consul.

He went, it was said, to carry out Cæsar's designs against the Britons, and poetry already sang his victories at the utmost limits of the world.[2] But Augustus considered that in this expedition he should gain little and risk much; he therefore left the Britons free. Strabo considers the decision wise. "It is estimated," he says, "that the duties paid by these islanders upon our commodities exceed the amount of an annual tribute."[3] This policy was successful; the British chiefs sent to the emperor respectful embassies and offerings to be consecrated in the Capitol. The time that he would have wasted in this useless conquest Augustus occupied in organizing what had already been conquered.

Notwithstanding Agrippa's victories in the year 37, Gaul had remained murmuring, in the extremities at least—in Aquitania, supported by the Pyrenees as by a fortress, and in Belgium, where the neighbourhood of the Germans kept alive an agitation. As soon as he was rid of Antony, Augustus had sent into Gaul three armies, which put an end to these last struggles of dying liberty (29 B.C.). The first conquest, that of the soil, was completed. The second remained, more difficult to make, that of minds and of customs, for the social organization that had so

but if they desired to revisit their Penates and their fellow citizens, for ever so brief a stay, a permission from the emperor was required.

[1] From September, 31 B.C. to August, 29 B.C., he was in the East. From the close of 27 to the close of 24 he was in Gaul and Spain. The winter of the year 22 was spent in Sicily; the year 21 in Greece and at Samos; the year 20 in Asia, Bithynia, and Syria; the year 19 at Samos and Athens, returning to Rome the 12th October. In the middle of the year 16 we find him in Gaul, and he did not return to Rome until the middle of the year 13. Many times during the years 10 and 8 he revisited Gaul. The reorganization of the provinces is the phrase for ever on the lips of Dion and Zonaras in accounting for all these journeyings.

[2] Hor., *Carm.*, I. xxv.; IV. i. 149.

[3] Strabo, iv. p. 200.

heroically supported the struggle still subsisted unimpaired, and the Druids continued to attract the crowd to their judicial tribunals, to their schools, and to their sanguinary sacrifices. But if Augustus was not the man of force, he was the man of skill; he had not conquered the Gauls, but he was able to transform them. He did three things in which were manifested that patient skill, that art of pacifying and extinguishing which made up his genius. He established administrative divisions so conceived as to break up the old federations or clientships; he distributed privileges unequally through these provinces for the sake of creating different interests among the Gauls, as the senate had previously done in Italy after the war of independence; lastly, he undertook the task of converting these sons of the Druids to the Roman polytheism. How far he succeeded in this attempt we have just now seen.

Narbonensis, long since submissive, preserved its former limits, but received in many of its cities numerous colonists,[1] and the frontier of Aquitania was carried forward to the Loire, for the purpose of massing the Gallic peoples in the west to serve as a counterpoise to the compact mass of the Aquitanian tribes. In the east, all the left bank of the Rhine, from the head waters of the river down to its mouth, was placed under the same military commandant; later, Augustus made of this two provinces. Celtica, reduced by one half, was called from that time Lugdunensis.[1]

In the three "Comatæ" provinces "he made," says one of his historians, "a census of the Gauls, and ordered their way of living and their political condition."[2] He changed the boundaries of the territory of certain peoples[3] and the name or site of their capital city, in order to efface the habits and the recollection of their time of independence. Whole hordes had been

[1] It may be inferred from a passage in Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 41) that Germania Superior and Germania Inferior were already formed in the fourth or fifth reign of Tiberius, and in speaking of a priesthood *ad aram Ubiorum*, in the year 9 A.D., Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 39, 57) authorizes us to believe that this organization dates from the reign of Augustus.

[2] Dion, liii. 22: . . . . τὸν βίον τήν τε πολιτείαν.

[3] He made these changes even in the case of old Roman cities . . . . *urbes* . . . . *numero civium ampliavit quasdam et finibus* (Hyginus, *Gromat. de Limit. const.*, pp. 117 and 119). With much more reason must he have pursued this course in Gaul. These changes were a principle of the Roman administration. They had applied it also in Asia . . . . Ῥωμαῖοι ἐφ' ὧν ἤδη καὶ τὰς διαλέκτους καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἀποβεβλήκασιν οἱ πλεῖστοι γεγονότος ἑτέρου τινὸς μερισμοῦ τῆς χώρας (Strabo, xii. 4, 6).

exterminated, and he gave their lands to neighbouring states; those weakened by wars were united to others; those who had been in a condition of clientship towards other and more powerful nations were made independent, and what remained of the three hundred nations mentioned by Josephus, Appian, and Plutarch, were divided into sixty municipal districts. This was about the number of nations which had been conspicuous in the history of ancient Gaul, so that Augustus, according to his custom, had the appearance of changing nothing, while in reality he had changed everything.[1] In regard to the administration of justice, the three provinces were, like the others, divided into jurisdictions, *conventus juridici*.

Augustus did not pour new colonies into long-haired (*Comata*) Gaul, for the reason that he did not wish to depopulate Italy in order to latinize Gaul. He preferred to concentrate Roman life in Narbonensis as in a focus whence it might radiate into Celtica. But what he could not do by means of colonists he did personally by contracting engagements with a multitude of the Comatæ cities, which took his name and whose inhabitants became his clients.

He left to the Ædui, Lingones, and Remi, the title of allies of the Roman people, and granted the same honour also to the Carnutes, in order to have on the south, north, and east, three powerful peoples, interested in the maintenance of the new social order. To ten others he gave permission to preserve their laws, *civitates liberæ*, and the jurisdiction of their own magistrates. To the Ausci, the most powerful nation of Aquitania, to the Conveni (S. Bertrand de Comminges), who held the central passes of the Pyrenees, and to many tribes in Narbonensis he gave that Latin franchise which was a preliminary to Roman citizenship. This last was considered an enviable privilege, since it conferred equality with the conquerors, but Augustus was sparing of it, conferring the honour only upon individuals, to whom it brought distinguished consideration and municipal offices.

Thus Augustus made, to nations and to individuals, different conditions; he pointed out to the self-interest of the provincials the manner in which imperial favour might be gained. And, by

[1] In respect to these sixty Gallic cities, see Desjardins, *La Gaule romaine*, vol. ii. pp. 357–501.

exercising an unequal pressure upon Gaul, he prevented the formation of a common bond of hate against the foreign rulers.

He augmented the tribute, but divided it more equitably; and, for the purpose of maintaining order, declared the sixty Gallic peoples constituted as states (*civitates*) responsible for any tumults that might occur in their cities or cantons (*pagi*).

He gave them as capital a strictly Roman city, Lyons, recently founded by Munatius Plancus, on the hill of Fourvières, for the exiles from Vienne.[1] Lying near the marshy confluence of the Saone and the Rhone, almost at the point where four provinces met, and adjacent to the Alps, Lyons was admirably situated to become the most important of the transalpine cities. Having no past, no record, no patriotic ties with the long-haired peoples, it was fitted to receive and to spread abroad through Gaul the spirit of Rome. Augustus augmented the colony of Plancus, and made it the centre of Roman administration in Gallia Comata;[2] he established there a mint for the imperial coinage of gold and silver; and a cohort was always in garrison there for the protection of the numerous agents in the imperial service.[3] It was, in fact, a second capital to the Empire. Agrippa hastened to lay out from its gates four great roads: over the mountains of Auvergne, by Limoges and Saintes to the ocean; by Autun, Sens, and Beauvais to the English Channel; by Châlons, Langres, Metz, and Coblenz, to the banks of the Rhine; and, lastly, through the Rhine valley, towards Marseilles and the Pyrenees.

But, above all, it was important to control the routes

[1] A Gallic village, Condate, occupied the point of land at the junction of the Saone and the Rhone. It was not absorbed by Lugdunum until the fourth century. This territory was abstracted from the country of the Segusiavi by Drusus when he built there the temple of Rome and Augustus. Cf. *Descr. du pays des Ségusiaves*, by A. Bernard, 1858. Plancus founded another colony, Rauraca (Augst, near Basle).

[2] Strabo says (iv. 6, 11): "It stands like a citadel in the centre of the country." Lyons has, unfortunately, no Roman ruins whatever, save a few fragments of wall, some columns and isolated arches of the aqueduct which brought it water from Mount Pilat. It is supposed that the church at Fourvières occupies the site of the Forum, and the hospital of Antiquaille, that of the imperial palace. M. d'Arbois de Jubainville translates *Lugdunum*, the fort of Lugu. This Lugu was the god of traders and was identified by Julius Cæsar with Mercury; but the word *lug* also means raven, and this etymology is the one adopted at Lyons. See vol. iii. p. 441.

[3] An inscription says: "for the guard of the mint," *Cohors ad monetam* (*Rev. épigr. du midi de la France*, No. 6, p. 95). This mint, which has lasted to our times, put an end to the municipal coinage which Gaul had preserved since the time of Julius Cæsar.

between Gaul and Italy. A highway already followed the sea-shore from Genoa to Marseilles, and the Ligurian mountaineers established above this road were watched by a Roman officer of the equestrian order, who was sent out to them annually. In the Cottian Alps reigned a petty prince, who, seeing himself threatened, solicited the friendship of Rome, and caused his people to open the great road of Mont Cenis. The emperor had no disposition to despoil so docile a prince; Cottius preserved his sterile kingdom and his little capital, Segusio (Suse), where he built an arch of triumph in honour of Augustus. A new colony was, however, prudently established on the slopes of his mountains, *Augusta Vagiennorum* (Saluces); *Augusta Taurinorum* (Turin) was already in existence and was reinforced. Higher up dwelt in the valley of Aosta the warlike tribe of the Salassi. They had already been deprived of their gold mines, situated in the lower country, and the colony of Eporedia had been established to keep them in

Copia.[1]

Copia, upon a copper as coined at Lyons.[2]

[1] Statuette found at Lyons, in 1846, representing the tutelary divinity of the city, symbolized by a double cornucopia; or, perhaps, the personification of the city itself. (Comarmond, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., pl. 9. No. 101.)

[2] IMP. CÆSAR. DIVI F. DIVI IVLI. Heads of Julius Cæsar and Augustus, back to back, separated by a palm. On the reverse, COPIA and the prow of a vessel; above, the globe

IMP CAESARI AVGVSTO DIVI F PONTIFICI MAXVMO TRIBVNIC POTESTATE XV IMP XIII
M IVLIVS REGIS DONNI F COTTIVS PRAEFECTVS CIVITATIVM QVAE SVBSCRIPTAE SVNT SEGOVIORVM SEGVSIANORVM
BELACORVM CATVRIGVM MEDVLLORVM TEBAVIORVM ADANATIVM SAVINCATIVM EGDINIORVM VEAMINIORVM
VENISANORVM IEMERIORVM VESVBIANORVM QVADIATIVM ET CIVITATES QVAE SVB EO PRAEFECTO FVERVNT

Hachette et C.ie

Imp. J. Bestault aîné.

Upper part of the Arch of Suze.

check. But, taking advantage of their position on the higher ground, they turned the current of streams, or sold water to those who worked in the mines. Once even they pillaged the emperor's money, and under pretext of repairing roads and bridges, rolled down great stones upon the troops passing below. Terentius Varro attacked them in 25 B.C., and 44,000 Salassi, the entire nation, were sold at auction, the purchasers being required to carry their slaves away into distant countries, and forbidden to enfranchise any for twenty years. Three thousand prætorians were established at *Augusta Prætoria* (Aosta), and two roads immediately laid out thence to Lyons, across the Great and Little S. Bernard. The Roman capital of long-haired Gaul was henceforward not more than two or three days' march from Italy, whither its numerous merchants carried the commodities of Gaul, and the fortunate city was able to assume the surname of Copia, "Abundance," which marked its prosperity. An aqueduct, eighty-four kilomètres in length, brought to it from Mont Pilat the pure waters of the Gier and the Janon.

Later (14 B.C.), the Ligurians made their submission, and upon the highest summit of the Maritime Alps was erected a gigantic trophy of marble, announcing far over the sea that the sailor could, without fear, approach this once formidable but now pacified coast.

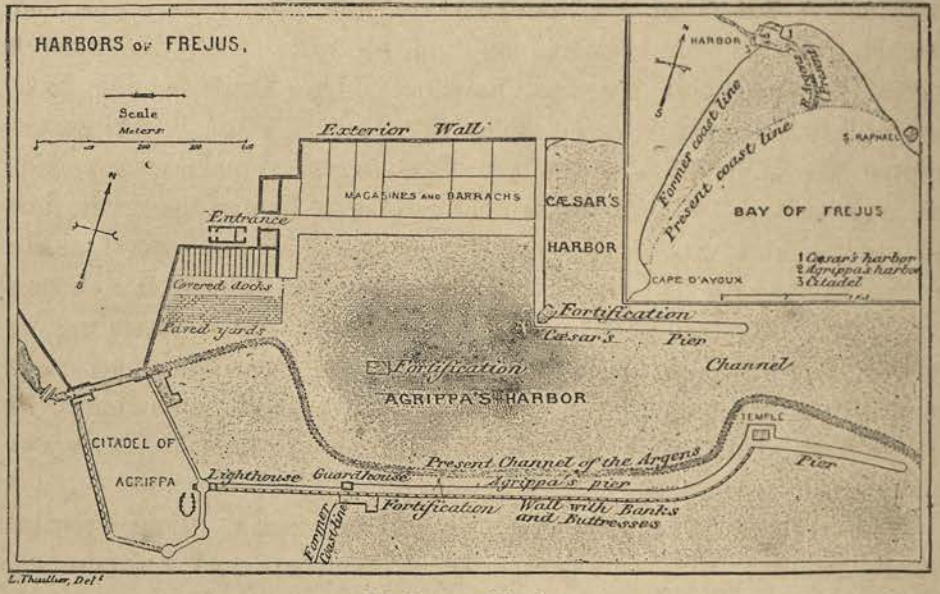
We have seen the skilful measures taken by Augustus to make the moral conquest of Gaul. They were successful; habits changed and memories were effaced, not everywhere, certainly, nor in the hearts of all, but sufficiently for the old race, after a few generations, to have assumed a new physiognomy. A contemporary, Strabo, testifies to their efforts to advance in the direction indicated by Augustus: "Everywhere," he says, "they are breaking up the ground and cultivating it."[1] And, while the poor thus laboured in the fields, the young nobles went away to the Roman camps, where, serving as auxiliaries, they soon lost by contact with the legionaries whatever Gallicism had been left to them; or else they gathered in the schools, and intellectual

and a mile stone. Cf. de Saulcy, *Sys. mon. de la rép. rom. à l'ép. de J. César. Monnaies posthumes de César*, pl. ix. fig. 4.

[1] Strabo, iv. 1, 5.

rivalries took the place of those warlike contests now impossible. The Gallic cities took the lead even of Rome herself, and were the first in Europe to establish public lectures by salaried professors. The cities of Narbonensis took the lead; others followed, and Gaul was seen sending into Italy masters of Latin eloquence.

To protect her against foreign invasion, and, at the same time, to deprive her of all hope of help from abroad, eight legions and a flotilla guarded the Rhine. In a few years grew up on the bank of this river more than fifty strongholds which became



Harbours of Fréjus.

cities. Vigorous expeditions across the river drove the Germans back into the depths of their forests, or compelled whole tribes to come over to the left bank. Tiberius established 40,000 Gugerni at one time on the lower Rhine, in what is now Guelderland. His brother Drusus joined the Yssel by a canal to the Rhine, and imposed upon the Frisii an annual tribute of ox-hides. In the south the fleet of Fréjus guarded the frontier of the sea, and protected against the pirates the commerce of Marseilles and Narbonne.

Augustus made a second journey into Gaul nine years after

the first. He had appointed a Gaul, named Licinius, to levy the taxes there. This Licinius, who had formerly been a slave, saw nothing in his position but an opportunity of making his fortune, and made it with the arrogance of a man who felt himself supported by eight legions. He required the tax to be paid in twelfths, one instalment a month, which was reasonable enough, and has often been done in our own times. But he had the audacity to make the year consist of fourteen months, of which two were for himself and the other twelve for the emperor. On the arrival of Augustus, the Gauls besought him to do justice in the case. The governor perceived his danger; inviting Augustus to his house, he exhibited to him the treasures he had extorted from his countrymen, and said to him: "All this have I amassed for you and for the Romans. The Gauls would have employed it against Rome; take it, it is yours." Augustus accepted the offering, and the Gauls, seeing their enemy despoiled, were able still to believe the emperor just. It was, however, but half justice, and Augustus narrowly escaped paying with his life for this complicity in crime. A Gaul of illustrious birth swore to take his life, and followed him among the Alps, intending to approach him at some dangerous portion of the road and push him down a precipice; but the emperor's tranquil countenance so impressed the Gaul that he confessed himself unable to carry out his design.

From Gaul, Augustus went over into Spain, where similar labours awaited him (26 B.C.). The Asturians and Cantabrians, entrenched among their mountains, defied the Roman power. Though attacked both by sea and land, they were not subjugated till the following year by the lieutenant Antistius; but it was only a temporary submission, for three years later it was necessary to fight with them again. Agrippa was the Roman general who finally in the year 19 B.C. was able to overcome their resistance, being more successful by his moderation than his predecessors had been by their severities. He compelled them to quit their mountains where there blows for ever an air of freedom, and established them in the plains under the control of imperial officers. A tradition of this obstinate resistance comes down to us in a Basque chant, probably very ancient, though not of the

date of this war: "From Rome strangers oppress us, but Biscay raises her song of victory. Octavius, ruler of the world, Lecobidi, the Biscayen [contended?]; on the side of the sea and on the side of the land he lays siege to us; his are the arid plains, ours are the woods and caves among the hills. But, oh, chest of food, scantily art thou filled! Their cuirasses are strong, but active are the undefended limbs. Five years, day and night without ceasing, the siege endured. Of ours when they slew one, fifteen they lost; they losing many, we, few. In the end, we made alliance. Upon the Tiber the city is seated afar, but the strength of the great oaks is worn away by the perpetual climbing of the woodpecker." [1]

The Pyrenees, like the Western Alps, were conquered, and in Spain as well as in Gaul every spark of resistance was stamped out. A new division on this side of the mountains also changed the habits of the people. The Citerior province, now called Tarraconensis, was made more important, and the Ulterior was divided into Lusitania and Bætica. The latter had long been in Spain what Narbonensis was in Gaul; it was only necessary, therefore, to help the movement which was already Romanizing the province. New colonies, as *Hispalis* (Seville) and *Astigi* (Ecija) aided this tendency, and a few years later Strabo was able to say: "The natives of Bætica have adopted the manners and customs of the Romans to such a point that they have forgotten their own language. Many had before this received the *jus* Latii, and Augustus multiplied concessions of this kind, so that now it was almost universal. They had, moreover, many colonies established among them, so that they may be said to be now almost completely Romans, and called *togati*. The Celtiberians, who were once so rude in manners, belong to the same class." Thus the Roman influence gained central Spain and acted thence in three directions at once, by way of Bætica southward, by the plains of Valentia eastward, and northward through the valley of the Ebro, that wide gate opening upon the Mediterranean and Italy. The Ebro, whose head waters had been captive since the subjection of Biscay, passed through three

[1] Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mér.*, ii. p. 354, and Append., No. 3. On the late date of this song, cf. *Revue critique* for 1861, art. 199.

recent colonies, *Celsa*, *Cæsar-Augusta*, and *Dertosa* (Xelsa, Saragossa, and Tortosa). A chain of military posts surrounded all the western region: *Legio Septima* and *Asturica* (Leon and Astorga) guarded the Asturias; the Callaïci were controlled by *Braccara Augusta* (Braga); the Lusitanians by *Ebora* (Evora), *Osilippo* (Lisbon), *Pax Augusta* (Beja or Badajoz), and *Aug. Emerita* (Merida), their capital, which became one of the finest cities of the Empire, as its ruins testify. The four colonies last named did not appear sufficient until a part of the Lusitanians had been transplanted across the Tagus, into a region nearer Bætica and the Roman civilization. Those who were allowed to remain on the north side of the river were compelled to build cities there. "Now," Strabo says, "fifty tribes, formerly always at war, live there in peace, mingled with Italian colonists." "Brigandage even has disappeared," says Velleius Paterculus, "and to Augustus belongs the credit."[1]

Spain has ever been ready to admire strength and grandeur, even acquired at her own expense. Cæsar, against whom she had twice fought, was popular through the country. Augustus was able, therefore, without wounding the national pride to multiply testimonials of his respect towards his adoptive father. The cities themselves solicited the honour of changing their names for that of the founder of the Empire. One became the Julian Valor, others his Fame, his Glory and Firmness, his Success and his Generosity.[2] Gades, like Merida and a host of others, took the name of Augusta in honour of him who was the pacificator of land and sea.[3] Meanwhile bridges thrown over rivers, roads laid out across mountains, and, better still, the effect of so many colonies guaranteed everywhere a security by which civilization profited. Solicited for more than two centuries by this triumphant power, the peoples of Spain long repulsed her with savage energy; but when at last they laid

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 91. This organization of Gaul and Spain was not completed until the second journey that Augustus made into Gaul during the years 15, 14, and 13. (Dion, liv. 23 and 25.) Strabo attributes to Tiberius the military organization of the Tarraconensis and of Lusitania.

[2] *Virtus Julia* (Itucci), *Claritas Julia* (Itubi), *Felicitas Julia* (Lisbon), *Liberalitas Julia* (Evora), etc.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iv. 36. Gades had a very extensive commerce upon the ocean and upon the Mediterranean, and, by the testimony of Strabo, like Patavium, she had five hundred knights, that is to say, five hundred citizens who possessed at least 400,000 sesterces.

down their swords, they abandoned themselves eagerly to her influence. The toga became the garb of the Celtiberians, and in those peaceful labourers of the valley of the Tagus, Viriathus could never have recognized the fierce warriors who inflicted upon the senate the shame of a treaty on equal terms. "Among the Cantabrians even all war has ceased," says Strabo, "and the most savage of them, no longer pillaging their neighbours, bear arms for the defence of the Empire." The duration of one man's life was enough to effect this revolution, and grateful Spain built

Merida. Ruins of the Aqueduct and Bridge of Albaregas.[1]

altars to this man, and until the Middle Ages reckoned time by the era of Augustus.

From Spain Augustus regulated the affairs of western Africa. He had already founded many colonies in this region, and commenced its organization as a province at the time when he sent colonists to Carthage for the purpose of placing the Moors and Numidians between two foci, as it were, of Roman life. Finding the Moors still too barbarous for the regularity of the imperial administration he gave them a native government. The son of

[1] From Delaborde's *Voyage en Espagne*, pl. 152. The Roman bridge of Albaregas, 400 feet long and 25 feet wide, has still the old Roman pavement.

the late Numidian king Juba, who had been brought up at Rome with a respect for Roman power and culture, received a kingdom consisting of part of the territory of the Gætulians and that of the Moors lying west of the Ampsagas (25 B.C.).[1] But from Spain the Romans kept guard over Mauretania, which was dependent for a portion of its supplies upon Bætica, as Morocco at the present time is for manufactured articles upon Gibraltar.[2] Near Tangier, on the African coast, was the city of Zilis; Augustus transported the inhabitants to the other side of the straits, to Algesiras, which he colonized under the name of *Colonia Julia transducta*. The new king, it must be confessed, found his subjects troublesome. The Gætulians, indignant at being no longer under the government of Rome, rose in insurrection (5 A.D.) for this reason, which would appear singular had we not the spectacle at this same epoch of other nations seeking incorporation with the Empire. The legions were obliged to march against these too zealous friends of the Roman government, and a general returned from that war with the honours of a triumph and the surname Gætulicus.[5]

Juba II., king of Mauretania.[3]

Augustus, vindicator of the liberty of the Roman people.[4]

This same year in which he constructed kingdom in Africa

[1] Dion, liii. 26. The great harbour of Saldæ, between Cæsarea and Cape Tretum, marked the frontier of Roman Africa on the side of the new kingdom. (Strabo, xvii. 3, 12 and 13.)

[2] At Mellaria, says Strabo (iii. 1, 8), they prepared salted provisions which were shipped from Belon for Tingis and Mauretania.

[3] Diademed head of Juba II., from a gem (cornelian 15 by 11 millimètres). *Cabinet de France*, No. 2063.

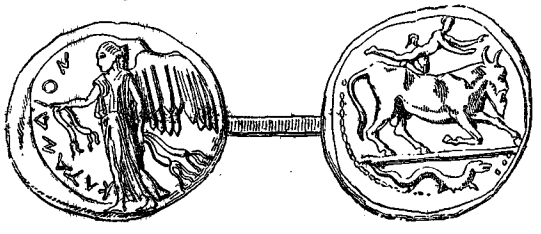
[4] IMP. CÆSAR DIVI F. COS. VI. LIBERTATIS P. R. VINDEX. Coin struck in the sixth consulship of Augustus, 28 B.C. The second, in which he bears the same title, is dated from his eighth consulship, 26 B.C.

[5] Dion, lv. 28. Juba caused a tomb to be constructed for himself on the model of the Madras'en (vol. iii. p. 353); it still exists, and is known as "The Christian's." It is a low cylinder, surmounted by a truncated cone, on which are 42 steps. Its diameter at the base is 64 mètres, its height 33 mètres; it is probable that originally it was 10 mètres higher.

he destroyed one in Asia. Amyntas, king of the Galatians, had died. He left children, but the country, lying surrounded on all sides by territory now belonging to Rome, had ceased to be useful for police duty; Augustus therefore reduced Galatia to a province (25).

The Asturi and the Salassi being conquered, the Empire found itself in every direction at peace. The temple of Janus was closed for the second time (25 B.C.), and Indian and Scythian chiefs, whose countries were now visited yearly by Roman traders,[1] came to pay homage to the chief of this vast Empire of peace.

Gaul, Africa, and Spain being thus organized, Augustus returned to Rome to assume the tribunitian authority for life. To this was added, in commemoration of his last victories, the right of wearing during the remainder of his life, on the first day of the year, the triumphal wreath and toga, and a senatus-consultum decreed the erection of an arch of triumph on one of the peaks of the Alps.



Coin of Catana.[2]

After a residence of nearly two years in the capital, he began at Sicily to visit the eastern provinces. "He there ordered all things," says his biographer. The island greatly needed the master's presence. The wars of Sextus had added new desolation to that which the earlier wars had caused, and in that fruitful land poverty prevailed. Augustus re-established Catana and Centuripæ, and sent a colony to Syracuse, which had been reduced from five quarters to but one, Achradina.[3]

From Sicily Augustus crossed over into Greece. Cythera had fallen into the possession of a certain Eurycles, who, from his

[1] That same year the Germans had put to death Roman traders who visited them. The latter went out in all directions. (Dion, liii. 28; Suet., *Octav.*, 22; Oros, vi. 21.)

[2] Upon the face, the name of the people and a Victory holding out the diadem which Bacchus is said to have invented; on the reverse, a satyr upon a bull with human face, representing Bacchus Hebo. (Eckhel, *Doctr. num.*, i. 203, and Müller-Wieseler, ii. pl. xxxiii. No. 380.)

[3] Strabo, vi. 270. Antony had given citizenship to the Sicilians; Augustus doubtless withdrew this right, for we know that in Pliny's time six only out of their sixty-eight cities possessed it.

insular rock had made himself, as it were, the tyrant of Laconia. Augustus exiled him, and gave his island to the Lacedæmonians; to pay them a compliment, he took a seat at their public table, unfortunately, the only thing they had retained of their ancient manners. But he deprived the Athenians of Ægina and Eretria, and forbade them to sell their citizenship. Some were punished for their flatteries of Antony, others recompensed for the asylum they had afforded Livia when a fugitive, with her first husband, from proscriptions and the triumvirs. Moreover, he detached from the jurisdiction of Sparta twenty-two villages whose inhabitants (the Eleutherolaconians) had been the first in the former wars to surrender themselves to the Romans.[1] Corinth received from him new colonists, for he was desirous to restore the importance of a city which was a mart for the two seas. Later he established veterans at Patræ and at Buthrotum, on the coast of Epirus opposite Corcyra, for the purpose of restraining the islanders from piracy.

Augustus, who was wont to speak frequently at Rome of the manners of ancient days, endeavoured to revive some of them in Greece; he re-established the Amphictyonic council in Greece with a sincerity equal to that which had actuated him in regard to republican institutions. Fifteen states or cities, representing thirty votes, were to send deputies to the new assembly. But the city of Nicopolis, lately founded by himself, had six votes, as many as Thessaly or as Macedon. Bœotia, Phocis, Delphi, had but two apiece; Doris, Athens, Eubœa, Opuntian Locris, and Ozolian Locris, one apiece; and four of the most eminent cities of ancient Hellas: Argos, Sicyon, Corinth, and Megara were obliged to unite to send one deputy. Furthermore, the representatives of Nicopolis, Delphi, and Athens sat at every session, but the others only in their turn.[2] Although this institution was yet in existence in the time of Pausanias, it cannot be wondered at that Strabo regards the Amphictyonic council as a thing of the past.

A few months had sufficed for the ordering of Hellenic affairs, but Asia required more time. From Samos, where he passed the winter studying the problems connected with the government of

[1] Pausanias (iii. 21) names eighteen of them.

[2] Wescher, *Monum. biling. de Delphes*, p. 164.

the oriental provinces, Augustus went to Ephesus, and here he limited the right of asylum in the temple of Diana, which, having been made to extend over almost the whole city, had made the place a lair of bandits;[1] thence he went to Ilium, whose privileges, as the native country of the Roman people, he confirmed. He next traversed the entire peninsula, visiting the senate's provinces as well as his own, and regulating all things with the hand of a sovereign, and at the same time with delicate consideration for these vain and frivolous people whom some slight favour would solace for past wrongs: at Ephesus he restored an Apollo that Antony had taken thence, and at Samos, two of the three statues by Myron, the Athene and the Hercules, which the triumvir had stolen from the temple of Juno. Some cities obtained Roman citizenship, others, the *jus Latii*. He gave liberty to Samos, as he had given it to the districts of Pamphylia subjected to Amyntas;[2] from Cyzicus,[3] Tyre, and Sidon he took away their freedom on account of seditions which the magistrates had not been able to suppress; and everywhere he reduced all men, Roman officers and provincials alike, to the strict observance of the laws.[5]

Coin of Cyzicus.[4]

The allied kings in their turn were, according to their conduct, rewarded or punished. Augustus had just put an end to the useless kingdom of the Galatians (25 B.C.); the year before, on the contrary, he had sent the insignia of senatorial dignity with the title of ally to Polemon, whom Roman policy required in the neighbourhood of Armenia. Not long after this he gave Polemon a second kingdom, that of the Cimmerian Bosphorus. Cappadocia was one of the outposts of the Empire in the direction of the Euphrates, and in order to increase the forces of the Cappadocian king the emperor added to his territory,[6]

[1] Strabo, x. 4, 23.

[2] Dion, lv. 26.

[3] Cyzicus recovered it in the year 15. (*Id.*, liv. 23.)

[4] Stater of Cyzicus bearing Hercules and Iphicles. (*Rev. de num.*, 1863, pl. X. No. 3.)

[5] It may have been at this time that the *colonia Cæsaria Antiochia* was founded to keep the Isaurians in check. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 27.) He also sent a colony to Berytus. (*Digest*, l. 15, 16, § 1.)

[6] Augustus gave him several cities of Cilicia and that portion of Lesser-Armenia which had formerly been conferred by Antony upon his ally the king of the Medes. (Dion, liv. 9.)

and later permitted him to marry the widow of Polemon, who brought him in dowry a part of the possessions of her late husband.

The king of Commagene had been guilty of an atrocious murder; Augustus, who punished Herod's cruelty merely with a coarse jest, found it for his interest, apparently, to be this time more severe. He deposed the murderer, and gave the throne to the son of the murdered man. Thus Rome reserved to herself the right to judge these petty tyrants who had too long wearied the world with their sanguinary passions.[1]

He confirmed the son of Jamblichus, king of Emesa, in the possession of the paternal heritage, and restored to the son of Tarcondimotus Eastern Cilicia, which he had kept from that prince for ten years. These two little states seemed necessary to arrest the brigandage of the neighbouring mountaineers and the nomads of the Syrian frontier. For the same reason Zenodorus and Herod were allowed to retain, as tetrarchs, the one Trachonitis, the other Judæa. We have seen with what address Herod had conciliated the favour of Augustus. The emperor left him at liberty to choose among his sons which should be his successor, a favour rarely accorded to any one, and Zenodorus having died about this time, he conferred the principality of the latter upon the Jewish king. Suetonius was justified in saying: "He considered the allied kings as members of the Empire. Often he appointed guardians to their minor children, and brought up many of them in his own family."[3]

The tetrarch Zenodorus.[2]

When Cleopatra was proposing to escape to India the Nabathæan Arabs burned the fleet which she had brought together in the Red Sea, and for this service Augustus had rewarded them by recognizing their king. Augustus strove to live on friendly terms with these nomads, masters of the entrances to Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, although it is probable that the envoy of

[1] Dion, lii. 43.

[2] ΖΗΝΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΤΕΤΡΑΡΧΟΥ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ. Head on a bronze coin.

[3] *Octav.*, 48; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xv. 10, 13.

their king Obodas designedly led Gallus astray in the expedition of which we shall soon have occasion to speak.[1]

The narratives which depict to us the court of the Indian rajahs, to whom the East India Company left a nominal independence, show how they compensated themselves for their political impotence by gratifying the most insane caprices, and for the quiet to which a superior power compelled them, by sanguinary domestic tragedies. These crowned slaves, who are such atrocious tyrants, are the living portraits of the petty kings whom Rome maintained in the eastern provinces. It is perhaps not just to say that Augustus designed to make the neighbouring people feel by this contrast the happiness of living under Roman rule, but the lesson was there. On all sides was extolled the tranquility enjoyed by the provincials, and the countries remaining independent implored the honour of being admitted to the number of the imperial subjects. We have seen that the Gætulians carried on a furious war because Augustus had given them to Juba; the inhabitants of Commagene, after the death of Antiochus, wished to become Romans,[2] and after Herod's death the Jews begged to be united to the province of Syria. Eight thousand of them living at Rome supported the request made by fifty ambassadors.[3]

At this time Augustus did not visit Egypt,[4] but he had so well organized that great imperial farm that there was no need of his presence there.

The first example of severity on the part of the new government towards its agents was given in that country. Cornelius Gallus, the friend of Virgil and of Augustus, had been placed in command there. He was a poet, and his head grew dizzy when he found himself absolute master of seven millions of men. He acted like a Pharaoh or a Ptolemy, peopled Egypt with statues of himself, had his name and exploits engraved upon

[1] In the year 6 Obodas was replaced by Aretas. The latter prince having assumed the title of king before asking permission of Augustus, the emperor manifested so much displeasure that Aretas was obliged to send him excuses and gifts. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 16.)

[2] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3.

[3] Id., *Ibid.*, xvii. 12; *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 8; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42.

[4] Neither did he go into Africa, but he says in the *Monument of Ancyra* that he sent colonies thither, notably to Carthage. (Appian, *Pun.*, i. 136.) Africa and Sardinia were the only provinces that he did not visit. (Suet., *Octav.*, 47.)

the pyramids, and by his exactions excited a revolt which he repressed with much cruelty, pillaging and destroying the city of Thebes. Augustus did not consent to these royal fashions of ruling over his patrimony; he displaced Gallus, forbade him to come into the imperial presence, and when the senate pronounced sentence of exile in the case, Gallus (28 or 26 B.C.) took his own life. Petronius, his successor, comprehended the intentions of the emperor better. Under the later Ptolemies, famine and pestilence had frequently desolated Egypt; Petronius undertook great engineering works to make the waters of the Nile more useful, repairing the dikes and cleansing the canals. Before the time of this governor, when the river rose but eight cubits there was famine: about twice that height was needed to make a good year; during the rule of Petronius, twelve cubits gave the most plentiful harvests, and with only eight there was no longer danger of want.[1] As the tax was proportioned to the harvest, the revenues of the prince increased with the prosperity of the country. Commerce, favoured by a vigilant police system, carried life even into the desert. A hundred and twenty vessels yearly sailed for India from the ports of the Red Sea, taking advantage of the summer monsoon, the periodical character of which was now just becoming recognized, and returning in the winter monsoon.

Coin of Petronius.[2]

Such were the labours of the master of the world, and this the method in which he enjoyed his victory. If all belonged to him, it is at the same time true that his time and care and even his own fortune belonged to all; for he had accepted the duties of an intelligent administration which repairs private disasters from public resources. In his widely extended journey, he relieved

Coin of Tralles. Games in honour of Augustus.[3]

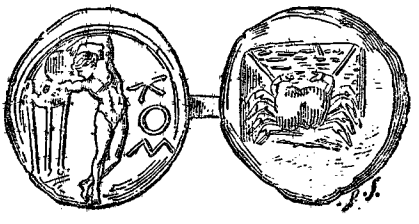
[1] App., *Bell. civ.*, iv. 61, 63, 108; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 59; *Hist.*, i. 11; Suet., *Octav.*, 81; Strabo, xvii. 788–817.

[2] AVGVSTVS CÆSAR. Augustus in a biga drawn by elephants, an olive branch in his hand. Reverse of a silver coin of T. Petronius, regarded as a commemoration of the Indian embassy sent to Augustus.

[3] Reverse of a great bronze of Elagabalus: ΕΠΙ ΓΡ, ΑΥΡ. ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ ΕΥΤΥΧΙΔΟΥ. A square table; on the table, three wreaths, inside of which is read: ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ, ΑΥΓΟΥΣΤΕΙΑ,

the cities that had been overburdened and rebuilt those that some scourge had destroyed. Tralles, Laodicea, and Paphos, destroyed by earthquakes, rose finer than before from their ruins. A thousand others, says the historian Dion, were assisted.[1] One year even the emperor paid with his own money the entire tax of the province of Asia.[2] When he took from the Greeks a work of art he gave them the value of it: Cos, in exchange for the Venus Anadyomene of Apelles, received a reduction of 100 talents upon its tribute.

The road to honour was not closed against the provincials. A man of Mitylene was appointed procurator of Asia; an apostate Jew, Tiberius Alexander, obtained the procuratorship of Judæa and later the præfecture of Egypt, while Balbus, a Spaniard, passed in triumph along that Via Sacra which had ere this seen provincials in robes flowered with gold, but chained and captive. Others came to insult by their luxury in Rome itself the poverty of the old families: a Gaul bought those gardens which Sallust had created with the wealth of a province.



Coin of Cos.[3]

Augustus, while manifesting this liberal disposition towards the subjects of Rome, refused, however, to follow the path which Julius Cæsar had marked out, leading to the progressive assimilation of vanquished and victors. He was very sparing in the bestowal of citizenship; it is probable that he withdrew it from the Sicilians, and granted it only to the magistrates of municipia and to great land-owners, making use of this title to establish a provincial nobility as he had already constituted one at Rome.

ΠΥΘΙΑ; under the table, in four lines: ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ. (Mionnet, *Descr.*, iv.; Lydia, No. 1106; Rayet, fig. 24.) The institution of these games dates no doubt from the reconstruction of the city by the liberality of Augustus (between 27 and 24 B.C.).

[1] liv., 23.

[2] *Ibid.*, 30: Τὸν φόρον αὐτῆς τὸν ἔτειον ἐκ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ χρημάτων τῷ κοινῷ ἐσήνεγκε. In the *Monument of Ancyra*, No. 24, Augustus boasts of having restored to the temples of Greece and Asia the riches and ornaments which his adversaries had taken from them. He adds that he came four times to the aid of the exhausted treasury.

[3] ΚΟΣ. Apollo, near a tripod, striking upon a drum, and executing the dance of victory. Tetradrachm of Cos.

Thus recurs everywhere that aristocratic tendency in his government to which we have earlier called attention.

All the divinities who wished admittance to the Roman cult are received, and each great section of the Empire sees its national god protected and enriched by the laws of Rome. The Jews held a religious tenet radically opposite to the plurality of gods; but, as they made no use of it at that time in asserting their national independence, they were permitted at Rome, in the very presence of Jupiter, great and good, to read publicly the Pentateuch, and all the cutting irony with which their prophets scourged the idols. When we remember how much blood has been shed by religious intolerance, we shall set down to the credit of the Romans of that time the vast amount of evil that they did not do. We may also notice in this connection that Rome, in taking away from the Jews the right of pronouncing sentence of death, allowed them, however, the privilege of saving annually one person condemned to die.[1]

In respect to military service Augustus was not exacting; he required but few soldiers in proportion to the mass of the population of the Empire, because he established no garrisons in the interior; and this tax fell chiefly upon the new provinces, whose warlike tribes paid it without reluctance.[2]

The twenty-five legions kept the barbarians in check by lining the frontiers with forts and camps in which all the military science of antiquity was applied, and in countries not exposed they constructed roads and bridges, canals and aqueducts. We shall see them erecting amphitheatres, draining marshes, and rescuing arid land; it was the conquerors of Actium who restored prosperity to Egypt by cleansing the choked channels of her great river.[3]

[1] S. Matthew, xxvii. 15.

[2] See chap. lxx.

[3] Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 18; *Claud.*, 1; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 20; xi. 20; xiii. 53; xvi. 23, and numerous inscriptions. We will only mention the canals of Marius, Drusus, and Corbulo, and the engineering work of the legions of Trajan, Hadrian, and Probus.

VI.—Commerce; Prosperity of the Empire.

We have already spoken of the new financial organization, of the census, of roads, posts, and the monetary reform. Commerce profited by all these measures, and a new activity pervaded this Empire, so admirably fitted for a long and prosperous existence.

In no portion of the earth had humanity encountered conditions more favourable to its development than in these lands which from the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, from the Alps and the Balkan, from the Taurus and the Atlas, slope down towards the Mediterranean Sea, with their countless rivers and fine sea-coasts, crowded with rich and industrious cities.

Of this prosperity we have an intelligent and truthful eye-witness, Strabo, who, during the lifetime of Augustus, visited a large portion of the Empire. He attests the commercial activity which arose as soon as the sea was cleared from pirates and the land from bandits, and the temple of Janus closed. We thus see a side of ancient life which has never received the attention it deserves. In so vast a whole as the Roman Empire, economic questions have their fit place at the side of political and military questions; for commerce at that time did for the Roman world what it was destined to do later for modern Europe: it brought together cities and peoples whose profound differences we have already pointed out, and it created for three centuries, if not the idea of a common country, at least a common interest in the preservation of "the Roman peace."

Coin of Smyrna.[1]

It has been frequently asserted that commerce was despised in Rome.[2] This perhaps may be true in the case of the Romans

[1] ΣΜΥΡ ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ ΟΜΟ ΣΤΡΑ ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ. Reverse of a bronze of Commodus, which has been thought to represent the alliance of Lacedæmon with Smyrna. Jupiter Nicephorus seated would represent the Genius of Smyrna, and Minerva armed and standing that of Lacedæmon. Cf. *Hist. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, vol. i. p. 294, and pl. 8, No. 5.

[2] This prejudice was especially Greek, and was advanced, though without great success, by the philosophers. Xenophon (*Œconom.*, iv.), says: "Handicrafts [not commerce—*Ed.*] ruin the body, and leave the soul without energy;" Aristotle (*Polit.*, iii. 3): "The rights of citizens

of the first centuries, although they signed treaties of commerce with Carthage; but it assuredly is not so in the case of those of the imperial time, who had quite different ideas from the early Quirites, as well as a different origin and other modes of living. What were the 80,000 Italians doing in Asia, whom Mithridates found there more than half a century before the battle of Actium,[1] and at Utica, those 300 wealthy Roman merchants, whose slaves were numerous enough of themselves to compose the city-guard. "Not a sesterce," says Cicero,[2] "is in circulation in the province of Narbonensis that is not entered on Roman account-books." Would the provinces have become so quickly Roman had there been no commerce, or none carried on by the Italian residents? Administrative measures and the establishment of colonies would never have been able to effect this fusion so rapidly; but when we find Roman traders among the Sicambri, the Marcomanni, the Ierni;[3] in Arabia Petræa and Taurus; when we learn that 120 vessels went yearly for Roman business to the coast of the peninsula of Ganges, and that Pompey had explored the road to India by way of the Caspian Sea, the river Indus, and the country of Bactriana,[4] how is it

should be refused to artisans;" he would not (vii. 9) even have the citizen engage in agricultural labours; Plato (*Laws*, viii.) forbids it in so many words, and condemns him to a month in prison (*ibid.*, i. 11) if he should engage in traffic of any kind; this is the ideal which was realized by the Spartans, Cretans, and Thessalians. Cicero made himself the echo at Rome of these doctrines (*de Off.*, i. 42, etc.). But from the earliest days we find the people divided into trade corporations, κατὰ τέχνας (Plut., *Numa*, 17), and a company of traders constituted themselves under the patronage of Mercury (Livy, ii. 27). Before the second Punic war, a law forbade senators to engage in any business, and allowed them only one vessel of a certain capacity (300 amphoræ) for the conveyance of their harvests (Livy, xxi. 63). During the wars with Hannibal, contractors undertook the provisioning of the armies, and a province is no sooner conquered than Roman merchants crowd into it with their accustomed avidity, says Diodorus (v. 26), πολλοὶ τῶν Ἰταλικῶν ἐμπόρων διὰ τὴν συνηθῆ φιλαργυρίαν. . . . Many inscriptions read: The Roman merchants of such a city or province.

[1] Appian, *Mithr.*, 61; Val. Max., ix. 2. Cicero, in his oration *pro lege Manilia*, 8, shows how immense was the capital invested by Romans in Asia.

[2] *Pro Fonteio*, v. Florus advises the Treviri to commence war by the massacre of the Roman traders. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 42.) Before the conquest of Gaul was really completed Roman traders began to flock thither. The great revolt began at Cenabum by the massacre of the citizens, *Romani qui negotiandi causa ibi constiterant.* (Cæsar, *de Bell. Gall.*, vii. 3.)

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 62; *Agric.*, 24. Seventy thousand Romans or allies are killed in Britain in the time of Nero, and it had been conquered but eighteen years earlier, under Claudius! (Tac., *Ann.*, xiv. 33.) He says (*ibid.*) in speaking of London, *copia negotiatorum et commeatorum maxime celebre.*

[4] The commodities of India were sold at a hundred times their cost, *quæ apud nos centuplicato veneunt* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 26); according to Varro: *Pompeii ductu exploratum.*

possible to say that commerce was odious to the Romans, and that they found it suitable to abandon to the provincials the profits of the immense traffic that was carried on throughout the Empire?

The Greeks considered commerce worthy of respect, and favoured it by their institutions, and it hence became very flourishing in the eastern Mediterranean. The movement had spread also as far as Spain, Gaul, and even Pannonia. "Navigation along the coast of Western Iberia is very good," says Strabo, "with the exception of some difficulties in passing through the straits. It is no less favourable in the Mediterranean, where the rest of the voyage is usually in calm weather, especially when the open sea is kept . . . and these waters have been freed from pirates, so that nothing is lacking for the security of the navigators. . . . Every year, vessels of large size arrive from Turdetania at Dicæarchia (Puteoli), and at Ostia, in as great number as from Libya." When Horace has occasion to bring upon the scene a rich merchant, he makes him "the opulent master of a Spanish vessel;" and to show his own disdain of wealth, he says that he will ask of the gods to be permitted but thrice or four times safely to navigate the Atlantic.[1] Upon this ocean the Romans followed in the track of the Carthaginians. Tacitus tells us that the Italian traders went as far as Ireland, and Suetonius shows us, in the time of Augustus, the people divided into three classes: *plebs urbana*, *aratores*, *negotiantes*. It is apparent, in spite of the indifference of the ancient historians towards facts of this kind, that the labour question, the most important of the modern world, was agitated 1,800 years ago upon the banks of the Tiber. Tacitus descends from the heights which his genius loves, to deplore the circumstance that, through lack of work, what began as a scarcity of food ended as an actual famine.[2]

Strabo says also in book xi. 7, 3: "The Oxus is so navigable, that through its channel Indian merchandise is brought easily as far as the Hyrcanian Sea, whence, by other rivers, it is transported to the Pontus Euxinus."

[1] *Carmin.*, I., xxxi., xxxviii.; III., vi. Navigation by sails and oars was more rapid than we believe. According to Pliny (xix. 1) the voyage from Ostia to the African coast was made in two days, to Marseilles in three, to Tarragona in four, to Gades in seven; from Puteoli to Alexandria was a nine days' voyage, and from Messina, seven, or sometimes six. But the voyage was made only in summer. [By keeping slaves at their large and numerous oars in calm weather, the Roman ships quite left our sailing vessels behind in these voyages.—*Ed.*]

[2] *Hist.*, i. 86: *Fames in vol*[illegible]*us, inopia quæstus et penuria alimentorum.*

Augustus, who reduced the number of festivals for the purpose of giving more working-days, distributed corn to the people but thrice yearly, lest they should be too frequently diverted from their industries. A proof of the attention paid by government to commercial affairs is the precaution taken in each city and each quarter of the larger towns to preserve standard weights and measures in a temple, under the protection of a

Interior of the Amphitheatre at Puteoli.

divinity, who, we learn from an inscription, was not the facile Mercury, but Hercules.[1] The Romans ascertained the density of water, wine, oil, and honey, and to prevent error, took as a unit of weight, a certain quantity of rain-water.[2]

Commerce was still more a gainer from the regularity of the monetary system. Rome, with her 1,500,000 or 1,800,000 inhabitants, was the principal market of the Empire. A great

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 40: . . . . *ne plebs frumentationum causa frequentius ab negotiis avocaretur*: cf. *ibid.*, 42.

[2] Dureau de la Malle, *Écon. pol. des Rom.*, i. p. 14.

accumulation of precious metals was made here, and there was likewise an enormous consumption, for the population of great cities consume much more proportionally than the population of the country. But Italy produced little: wines, of which only the inferior qualities were exported; oil,[1] excellent corn in small quantity; and wools, some of which, that of Tarentum and of the Cisalpine, were regarded as the finest known.[2] She had cloth manufactories and potteries; also sulphur, saffron, and honey; but all this was not enough to balance her imports,[3] and she was obliged to pay the difference in ready money, so that by their

A Wine-cellar in Rome (discovered in 1789).

industry and commerce the provinces took back from Rome what they had paid her as tribute. The commodities of Serica, India, and Arabia alone cost the Empire near a million of our money.[4]

[1] Pliny placed the oil of Venafrum in the first rank, and in the second that of Bætica and Istria. Pausanias (x. 32) prefers to all others that of Tithorea in Phocis, which was used at the emperor's table. The best wines were those of Amminæa and Nomentum; the Falernian, Massican, and Cæcuban, so often praised by Horace; the wine of Setia, worthy of Bacchus (Silius Italicus, viii. 375), etc., etc.

[2] Columella, vii. 2.

[3] Rome received marble from Greece, Asia Minor, Egypt, and Numidia, spikenard from India and Syria, balm from Jericho, and the pearls and precious stones, the use of which became so general in the time of Augustus [from India]; purple and stuffs from Cos, those of Attalus, *Attalica vestis*, with inwoven gold; ivory, Ethiopian ebony, and Indian crystal. Upon Roman tables were served the peacock of Samos, the crane of Melos, the pheasant of Colchis, the lamprey of Tartessus, the sword-fish of Rhodes, the scarus of Cilicia, scollops from Chios, chickens and guinea-fowl from Numidia, geese from Gaul, of which the livers were increased in size by milk and honey, an invention whose credit was disputed by an ex-consul and a knight; the geese of Germany, whose down was sold at five denarii the pound; filberts from Thasos, dates from Egypt, Spanish nuts, wines from all the Mediterranean coast, African, Spanish, and Greek oil, and slaves from every country in the world. Cf. 3rd Mem. of M. de Pastoret, pp. 101-116.

[4] It might almost be said that the city of Rome expended this enormous sum on these luxuries, for it was especially there that they were in demand. The dealers in perfumes and spices occupied a quarter by themselves. (Horace, *Epist.*, II. i.) At Poppæa's funeral Nero burned more incense than all Arabia Felix furnished in a year. Pliny adds (*Hist. Nat.*, xii. 41): *Tanti nobis deliciæ et feminæ constant!* What would he say now, when the commerce with India alone of one of the smallest and the very poorest province of the Empire is £40,000,000 annually? It is quite true that the old declamations against luxury are no longer in fashion since commerce and industry make it their aim, not to secure pleasure to a few, but to increase the comfort of all. Wealth, the fruit of rapine and of slave labour, as at Rome, is an evil; for, born of violence, it nourishes vice and corruption as a rule. Wealth, the fruit of free

Already every host who did not cover his guests with perfumes was considered rude, and "a matron could no more show herself without her pearls than a magistrate without his lictors." Soon to these pearls all kinds of precious stones came to be added.

Silver or Goldsmith.[1]

There were, moreover, in Italy several great annual fairs, of which the most celebrated was that held at Feronia, where those possessed by the goddess, on certain days of the year, walked barefoot and without sustaining injury over a very broad bed of hot ashes and glowing coals. Strabo also makes mention of Italian commodities, possibly, however, of Spanish or Gallic origin, warehoused at Ephesus, and Italian wines which, with those of Laodicea and Syria, served as articles of exchange in the cities on the shores of the Red Sea. We learn also that Rome carried on export trade from Horace's threat to his book that it may serve some day as a wrapper for merchandise destined to Utica or to Ilerda.[2] As is now the case with Paris, and for the same causes, the industry of Rome was especially directed towards the production of articles of luxury. There was a crowd of carvers and moulders, dyers, embroiderers, lace-makers, cabinet-makers, workers in stucco, in bronze and gold, and the like. The book-trade had assumed considerable proportions, for Atrectus could sell a copy of Martial's epigrams, in a purple case, well polished with pumice-stone, for five denarii. Much paper[4] was made and

Gold-beater.[3]

labour, as in our modern life, is a good, for it incites to industry, develops intelligence, and compels those who use it to share it as wages with those who produce it.

[1] From an engraved cornelian in the *Cabinet de France* (15 millim. by 16).

[2] *Epist.*, I., xx. 13. [This may have been copied directly from some Greek author.—*Ed.*]

[3] From a bas-relief in the Vatican.

[4] Augustus and Livia gave their names to two qualities of paper. See a long enumeration

much glass. Many mixtures had been devised to vary the colours of this product, and they were able to sell it as cheap as we do now, a small glass drinking-cup costing but a half-as.

Three seaports served for provisioning Rome, and for the export of the merchandise of Central Italy: Ariminum (Rimini), which received the commodities of the Cisalpine; Ostia and Puteoli, ports of entry for the cereals of Africa, and the products of Spain, Gaul, and the East. To relieve Ostia, at this time but a poor roadstead, Augustus laid out, at the side of the Appian Way, across the Pontine Marshes, a canal to Terracina. This canal was reached by sea from Puteoli, and gave easy passage for nearly thirty miles to barges drawn by mules conveying the traders themselves and light merchandise, and thence the distance to be made by land was short.

The Cisalpine exported a great quantity of millet, a kind of harvest, says Strabo, which secures against famine, since it never fails; pitch, wine, which they send in casks as tall as houses, the fine wools of Mutina (Modena), and the coarser wool of Liguria and the region around Mediolanum (Milan); and, lastly, great herds of swine to feed the city. Padova (Padua) was the centre of great manufactures of mantles and expensive carpets and hangings.

Sicily furnished corn and cattle and wool, and the honey of Hybla, the rival of Hymettus, fine carvings, and valuable stuffs made at Malta, where there had been weavers since the time of the Phœnicians. Sardinia had only its harvests.

Gaul had too lately entered upon the path of civilization for her exports to be extensive, but Narbonensis produced all the fruits of Italy, oil, an abundance of wine, and wool of excellent quality, and Transalpine Gaul, corn, millet, and cattle. Strabo adds that "the convenient position of the rivers make it easy for merchandise to be transported, either from place to place within the country, or from the ocean to the Mediterranean or the reverse." Massilia and Narbo were the two ports of exportation for tunics worn by the Italian slaves, for the linen cloth of the Cadurci, the salt pork of the Sequani, the military

by M. Pastoret (*op cit.*, vol. v. 2nd part, p. 85) of the different callings at that time held in esteem in Rome.

Sellier pinxt. Imp. Fraillery. Dambourgez, chromolith.

BURIAL URN

Blue glass with bas-relief of white enamel found at Pompeii

Death of Alcestis, from a Sarcophagus found at Ostia (Vat. Mus.).

frocks of Arras, and red cloth, of which the better qualities were said to equal the purple of the East. These two great seaport towns communicated with the interior through other places already actively engaged in trade: Toulouse and Bordeaux upon the Garonne; in the valley of the Rhone and the Saone, Arles, Nismes, which not long after saw the building of its great aqueduct (Pont du Gard), Vienne, Lyons, where the gold of the Tectosages and the Tarbelli, and the silver of the Ruteni and

Roman Theatre at Arles (present condition).

Gabali, was converted into money; Autun, later celebrated for its schools, Cenabum on the Loire, whither, even before the Gallic war was ended, Roman merchants had begun to flock; Trèves, upon the Moselle, and Rheims, which soon so completely forgot her Gallic origin that she called herself the daughter of Remus, and put the she-wolf and the twins upon her coat-of-arms. Strabo tells us of merchandise transferred from the Saone to the Seine, destined for the British islands, whence came in return leather, iron, tin, cattle, slaves, and, as at the present day, the

best hunting-dogs. Half a century after this Josephus said: "Gaul has, within itself, an inexhaustible spring of all good things, which it spreads abroad over the rest of the earth;" and, in the reign of Tiberius, Sacrovir contrasted to the miseries of Italy, the prosperity of Gaul.

To augment the value of land in Italy a senatus-consultum had prohibited the cultivation of the vine and the olive to the Transalpine nations.[1] It appears, however, that Narbonensis must have been excepted from this decree, as from many others, on account of its proximity to Italy, for Fonteius laid a tax upon the wine sold in this province; and we know that the people of Vienne obtained from their vineyards on the hills, now called the Côte Rôtie, a wine called the Picatum, which was sold at Rome for 1,000 sesterces (£8) the amphora (nearly six gallons).

Spain furnished an enormous mass of products: corn and wine, very good oil (especially that of Merida), honey, wax, a quantity of vegetable dye stuffs, pitch, salted provisions as good as those of Pontus,[2] oysters obtained all along the Spanish coast; vermilion, not inferior to the famed Sinopean cinnabar, bringing 70 sesterces a pound in Rome; and salt, either extracted from the marshes which lie along the coast from Cadiz to Gibraltar, or obtained from very rich mines like those of Castile and especially of Catalonia, where is the famous rock of Cardona of solid salt, so hard that statuettes are cut from it. Earlier than this Spain had become renowned for her wools, and a Spanish ram had been sold as high as a talent;[3] the stuffs made at Sætabis and Emporiæ were the finest known; also a kind of broom, of which cordage was made, was exported in large quantities. Her greatest wealth, however, lay in her mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper.[4] In

[1] Cic., *de Re publ.*, iii. 9.

[2] Strabo describes curiously the evolutions of the army of tunny-fish all along the coast, where, about the time of their annual arrival, sentinels were posted to give notice of their approach.

[3] Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Atticæ*, ii. 22.

[4] Diod., v. 36; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxviii. 2. There were iron mines and really excellent iron-works at Cape Dianium, called, on this account, by Pomponius Mela, *Ferraria*; and water useful for tempering near Bilbilis and Turiasso. Horace mentions Spanish cuirasses, *loricis Iberis* (*Carm.*, I. xxix. 15). In the gold mines of Bætica, nuggets of ten Roman pounds weight had been found. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxiii. 4.) In Turdetania, a fourth part of the ore taken out of the mine was pure copper. (Strabo, iii. 7.) There w. , tin in the country of the Gallæci. and lead at Castalon, where it is found to this day. The Tagus and other rivers of Lusitania

Pont du Gard (the great Roman Aqueduct which brought water to Nimes) as it now stands, halfway between Avignon and Nimes.

the north of Spain, the Cerretans and Cantabrians exported excellent hams, "which furnished this people a very advantageous traffic." The horses of Asturia and Cantabria, small, but very active, were so famous after the Veneti had abandoned horse-breeding that the Romans called all their best animals *Asturiones*, and Posidonius compares the horses of the Celtiberians to those of the Parthians on account of their extreme speed.

In the north-east of Italy, Rhætic wine was considered as good as the best wines of the peninsula, and the mountaineers of the Alps bartered their honey, wax, resin, and cheese for the Italian commodities of which they had need. Across Mont Ocra, the lowest part of the Eastern Alps, the merchandise of Aquileia was transported in wagons to Nauportus upon the Leybach, a branch of the Save, where it was embarked and carried down to the Danube, and thence to Segestum, or into Pannonia or Noricum. Aquileia, which possessed very rich gold mines, was the centre of this traffic. This city furnished to the barbarians wine and oil and salted provisions, receiving in return slaves, cattle, furs, that iron from Noricum which was so much valued for the manufacture of swords,[1] and the amber which came from the shores of the Baltic.

With the Northern provinces, therefore, there was only a traffic of barter. In Gaul, industry was awakening; in Spain, especially in Bætica, it was taking a considerable development: metal-working, weaving, agriculture, and fisheries were all in a state of activity.

From Greece and the Greek islands Rome obtained some horses, for the depopulation of the country favoured their breeding; honey from the Hymettus and the Sporades, Chian and Lesbian wines, the copper of Cyprus and dried figs from that island,[2]

brought down particles of gold. (*Id., ibid.*) Pliny (*ibid.*, xxxiii. 21) estimates the annual product of gold of Galicia, Asturia, and Lusitania at 20,000 pounds weight.

[1] *Noricus ensis.* (Horace, *Carm.*, I. xvi. 9; *Epod.*, xvii. 71.)

[2] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 23; Strabo, iii. 162. The most valued wines of the time were those of Chios, Samos, Clazomenæ, Cyprus, Lesbos, Smyrna, Tripoli, Berytus, and Tyre. Some Sicilian wines (the Mamertine and that of Tauromenium), and some from Spain (the Laletanian, that of Tarragona, Lauron, and the Balearic islands), brought a good price. Gallic wines, with the exception of that made at Vienne on the Rhone, were spoiled by certain mixtures, and did not appear upon the tables of the rich. Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, iv. 19) enumerates eighty kinds of wine, fifty of which were Italian.

perfumes prepared at Athens and at Corinth, certain dainties reserved for the tables of the rich; and, furthermore, the marbles of Pentelicus, Paros, and Chios, the bronze of Corinth, the copper of Eubœa, certain delicate tissues like the *byssus* of Elis, so much in favour with the Roman ladies, and the hellebore of Anticyra, a precious specific against madness.

The five hundred cities of Asia, rich, populous, and industrious, consumed much, but produced even more: Milesian cloths and carpets, works of art in endless variety, statues, bronzes, gold and silversmiths' work, pretty Bithynian rings, chased iron work from Cibyra, Laodicean carpets, pottery from Tralles, the purple-veined marble of Synnada, the dyes of Hierapolis, the wines of Tmolus, used to give others a fictitious age. Through these Asiatic cities passed a great part of the Eastern traffic. Commodities of China, India, and Tartary, wools, furs, precious stones, slaves, silks, Serican steel, were brought by way of the Oxus, the Caspian, and the Caucasian isthmus to Dioscurias, "where the dealers of seventy nations met."[2]

A Peacock.[1]

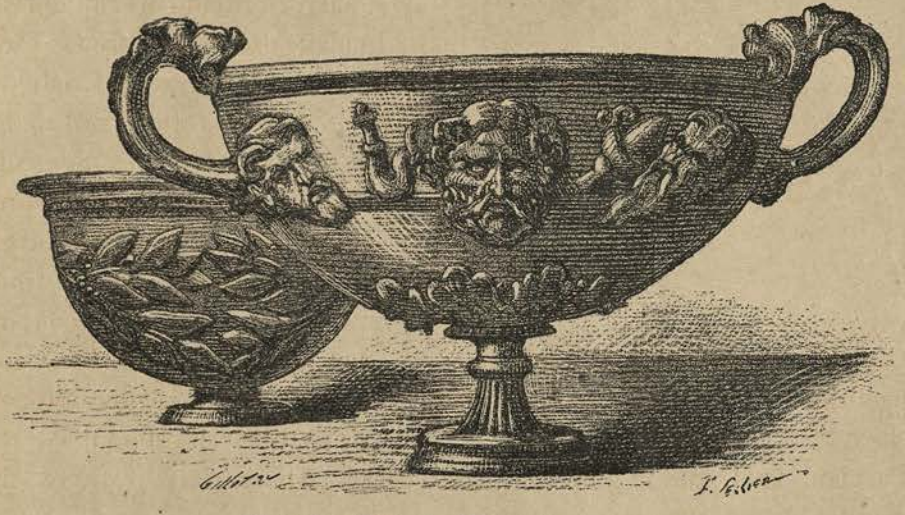
The carpets and woven stuffs of Babylonia, the precious commodities of the East, brought by way of the Persian Gulf, northern Arabia, and central Syria, passed through Palmyra and Thapsacus, and thence were carried to Mazaca on the Halys, and so on to Ephesus, the principal commercial town of Asia, notwithstanding its poor harbour. The cities of Tanais, Panticapœum, and Phanagoria, upon the Palus Mæotis, occupied a corresponding position towards the countries lying in their rear. The Scythians brought them wool, furs, slaves, and the gold of the Ural and

[1] Pompeian painting. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, i. 1st series, pl. 43.)

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 5, 19; Strabo, xi. 498. Bithynia sent into Italy cheeses that were highly valued. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xi. 42.) Pontus furnished alum, acacia, and building woods (Hor., *Carm.*, I. xiv. 11); and Colchis very well-tempered iron (Virg., *Georg.*, i. 58).

the Altai, in exchange for wines, stuffs, and the countless things brought by the Greek merchants. Fisheries on a grand scale were made then, as now, in the muddy waters of the river Tanais and the Palus Mæotis.

Phœnicia always furnished the Syrian purple, which was sold at Rome for more than 1,000 denarii a pound; also cedar-wood and oil of the same, which were regarded as indestructible, so that priests often made statues of their gods of this wood, and poets, to secure immortality for their verses, rubbed with the oil their paper rolls—*cedro digna locutus*.[1] Phœnicia also exported into Egypt and all the cities along the shores of the Red Sea the wines of



Silver Cups (from the Hildesheim treasure).

Syria and Italy, besides much glass, which was chiefly made at Sidon.

Egypt, which had a trade with India and China eighteen hundred years before the Christian era, exported, besides her corn, diverse kinds of woven stuffs, very expensive coloured glass which was made at Alexandria,[2] papyrus, and alum; she obtained from the Dead Sea asphalt for embalming; also from Palestine that balm of Gilead which was put up in mother-of-pearl and

[1] Pers., *Sat.*, i. 42; Hor., *de Arte poet.*, 332: *linenda cedro*.

[2] Pliny, in many places, mentions the price of these objects at Rome. (*Hist. Nat.*, ix. 63; xii. 26, 42; xxxvii. 7, etc.) In the time of Aurelian a pound of silk was worth a pound of gold. (Vopisc., *Aurel.*, 45.) Cæsar gave away a pearl which cost a million. (Suet., *Jul. Cæs.*, 50.) An attempt was made to cultivate the pepper-plant in Italy. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xvi. 59.)

sold at a great price; from Africa, negroes, much in fashion as slaves in Italy, Greece, and Sicily, ostrich plumes, and ivory; from Arabia, aromatics, incense, and gold dust; from India, spices, cinnamon, pepper, ginger, cassia, myrrh, spikenard, cinnabar, and dye-stuffs, shells, Murrhine cups and vases,[1] precious stones, pearls, and silk and cotton stuffs. A strange procedure is reported in connection with this Indian commerce: for India, Augustus turned counterfeiter. The Hindoos, who towards the Romans were sellers and not buyers, received much coined money, and as it was ascertained that they could not distinguish false coin from true, the masters of the Roman mint coined for exportation plated denarii, which have been found in great quantities on the coast of Malabar, while nearly all coin intended for circulation within the Empire was of standard value. The operation was as lucrative as it was disreputable.[2]

Vase in form of a Negro's Head.[3]

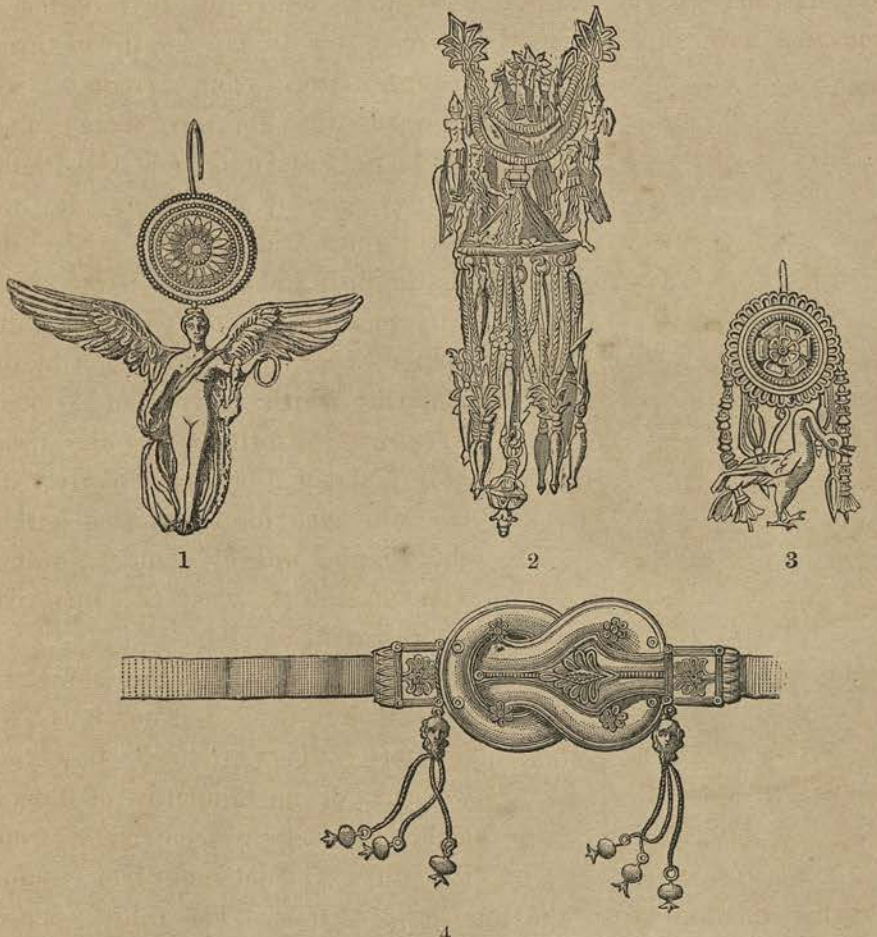
Africa still felt the disasters caused by the civil war. The territory of Carthage, however, was one of the granaries of Rome, and that city, now rising from its ruins, was beginning to resume its earlier relations with the interior of Africa. The route opened by Hanno into Senegal and Guinea was doubtless now closed; but it is by no means certain that the six towns founded by

[1] These vases, of which Propertius (IV. v. 26) says: *Murreaque in Parthis pocula cocta focis*, were probably Chinese porcelain and brought a great price. (Pliny, *ibid.*, xxxvii. 7.)

[2] Peutinger's map marks near two cities on the coast of Malabar a *Templum Augusti*, which gives reason to believe a trading port existed there. It was customary to have in all merchant towns a "chamber of commerce." The language used in Eastern traffic was the Greek, which, Philostratus says, was spoken by the princes of the north of India and by all educated persons. Seneca (*Cons. ad Helv.*, 6) and Plutarch (*The Fortune of Alexander*) confirm this testimony.

[3] Found near Acerra, *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*, 1878, tav. 5, No. 8.

that general beyond the Pillars of Hercules had already disappeared, for it was not long before this that Sertorius, influenced by the reports of many ship-masters, had proposed to his soldiers to go and find a home in the Fortunate Islands. Relations with the Canaries still continued. The gold dust which Roman traders found



Ornaments, Earrings, and Belt of Gold.[1]

in Mauretania was more probably brought thither by way of the sea than by the long and dangerous route across the Sahara. Carthage sent to Rome wild beasts and gazelles for the amphitheatre, Numidian horses, precious woods, gold dust, ivory, negroes,

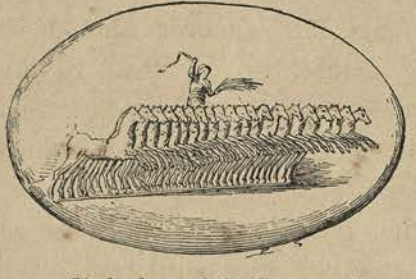
[1] No. 1, a winged Genius, holding a crown, under a rosette, all of gold; No. 2, the chariot of the sun over a crescent, and winged Victories resting upon a sort of cupola; No. 3, a swan in white enamel, hung from a gold rosette; No. 4, fragment of a gold belt, found at Ithaca. (Saglio, *Dict. des Ant.*, etc., figs. 965, 966, 968, 969.)

Numidian marble, and pieces of stone, called by their Greek name, chalcedony, of which costly cups and vases were made.

We have already seen (vol. iii. p. 613) what was furnished by the Cyrenaica. Behind this province ran the great commercial highway which connected the east, south, and west of Africa. The great caravan, setting out from Upper Egypt, traversed the oases of Ammon (Syouah), Augila (Audjelah), and the Garamantes, where it found the traders of Leptis, then travelled southward through the country of the Atarantes (Tegerry) and of the Atlantes (Bilma), to meet those of Nigritia. This route, described by Herodotus two thousand three hundred years ago, is still the one traversed by the caravans of Cairo, as far as the frontiers of Bournou, for Nature has indicated no other.

Bronze Gazelle found at Herculaneum.[1]

After the Third Punic War Leptis had inherited this commerce, which later she was obliged to share with the new Carthage, while keeping, however, a considerable portion of it.



Chalcedony of the Cyrenaica.[2]

For the larger part of all this merchandise the sea was the great highway upon which thousands of vessels did service in the carrying trade. Having no compass or

[1] Monaco, *National Museum of Naples*, pl. 97.

[2] Victorious charioteer, driving twenty horses harnessed abreast. An engraved stone, found in the Cyrenaica, the horses of which were highly esteemed. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 1871.)

clock they were quite likely, when fogs or clouds obscured the stars, to go as far astray as did the vessel in which S. Paul sailed for Italy. Navigation, therefore, was suspended during the winter,[1] as much on account of the state of the sky as by reason of the frequency of tempests. For making land, however, they were guided at many points by fire-towers and light-houses, which the Greeks had invented and the Roman emperors had multiplied. Of these the most famous was that at Alexandria, which seems to have been 540 feet in height, and carried a light visible at a distance of forty miles.[2]

Thus, under the protection of a vigilant government, civilization extended itself; and the nations formed or resumed the habit of a profitable exchange of commodities, of which the advantages had long been known to the Greeks and to the Carthaginians, and had been for a century and a half shared by the Romans in their capacity of bankers to the world.[3]

This general prosperity was secured by two things, namely, a government which left much liberty to the individual, and a profound peace, maintained neither by force nor by fear. We may read in Josephus the speech of Agrippa, in which he concludes: "A revolt against Rome would be a revolt against God Himself." At the suggestion of a successful revolt Tacitus also is horror-struck on behalf of humanity: "The gods forbid that the Romans should disappear from the earth! What thenceforth would there be save a universal war among the nations? Eight hundred years of constant success and discipline have been required to raise this colossus, and it would crush in its fall whoever should be able to overthrow it."[4] But none sought to do this; Pliny shows us the nations "forgetting their ancient animosities, and reposing from their dangers upon the bosom of a peace which was like a long holiday."

We must read with distrust the official demonstrations of public gratitude. Every power has received this adulation, even on the eve of its downfall, for power is surrounded by a display

[1] See vol. iii. p. 323, and the Acts of the Apostles, xxvii. 9.

[2] The best modern lights have a range of fifty miles.

[3] At a later period, it was prohibited, under capital penalty, to export iron, weapons, wine, corn, salt, or gold. (*Digest*, xxxix. 4, ii. pr., and *Code*, iv. 21, 1, 2.)

[4] *Hist.*, iv. 74.

which attracts and fascinates the crowd. The temples and altars consecrated to the Genius of Augustus, the quinquennial games instituted by all the cities in honour of the emperor,[1] were doubtless an expression of adulation, but they were also the token of genuine sentiments, and Virgil and Pliny, bearing testimony to the felicity of Rome in the midst of the profound peace and serene grandeur which Augustus had bestowed upon her, were the sincere echo of public opinion.

Augustus in the Toga.[2]

But we have testimony surer, if less brilliant, than the scholar's and the poet's enthusiasm. "One day, as Augustus was sailing along the shore of Puteoli, the sailors and passengers of an Alexandrian vessel came to salute him, clad in white garments and crowned with flowers. They burned incense before him as if he were a god, and cried out: 'It is by thee that we live and are free; to thee we owe our wealth and security.' Augustus was so gratified by this homage," his biographer continues, "that he distributed forty pieces of gold among his attendants, directing them to expend the money in the purchase of Egyptian commodities.

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 59.

[2] Museum of the Louvre.

During the succeeding days he gave to the Romans Greek mantles and to the Alexandrians togas; and he desired them also to change languages, the Greeks to speak Latin and the Romans Greek"[1]—a two-fold symbol of the blending of all nations which had now begun, and would have been completed had this prosperity rested upon institutions instead of depending upon one human life.

Tripod for Sacrifice.[2]

Another inference is to be drawn from the tedious but needful details which have filled this chapter. Commerce transported much, for the reason that there was much, in the way of industrial and agricultural products, to transport. Industry and agriculture were then flourishing. This laborious activity required many hands, both of slaves and freemen. To some labour brought a competency, to others it brought liberty; and this extensive commerce became a cause of emancipation, changing the economic conditions of ancient society. In the rural districts there came into existence the class of *coloni* mid-way between freedom and slavery; in the cities, that of small manufacturers who, for protection,

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 98.

[2] Bronze tripod, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii, and now in the Museum of Naples.

presently associated themselves into guilds and corporations. Thus began a social evolution whose results were inherited by the Middle Ages.

Account books (*breviaria rationum*), day-books (*diurni*), a bag of money, a casket (*scrinium* or *capsula*) full of rolls, each ticketed; and coins, or rather counters, to use in calculating. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. v. pl. 36.)

Sellier pinxt. Imp. Fraillery. Heidet, chromolith.

CHARIOT RACE

CHAPTER LXVIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE FRONTIERS.

I.—The Frontier East and South.

ABOUT the year 19 B.C., the period when Augustus visited the East for the last time, the work of organizing the imperial government, as he had conceived it, was completed. For six years the temple of Janus had been closed, and the minds of men were no less quiet than were the provinces. Cæpio and Murena, who had dared to conspire against so great a prosperity, had found no accomplices. Industry resumed possession of this world whence it had been expelled; and, by way of rare exception in the history of nations, universal gratitude saluted as a saving divinity the author of all these benefits.

Augustus, however, had accomplished as yet but half his task. It remained to secure, by statesmanship or by arms, frontiers so solid that this great work of pacification should not be interrupted by attacks from without. In Europe, it was needful to fortify the barrier of the Rhine, to inclose the Alps within the Empire, and to carry the outposts of the legions as far as the Danube; in Asia, to bring Armenia under Roman influence, and to intimidate the Parthians; in Africa, to keep in check the nomadic tribes, and to re-open in that old world the highways of commerce known to Carthage and the Ptolemies. If we may believe an official document, all this was done with victories innumerable: "I have been," says Augustus, "twenty-one times proclaimed imperator; for the successes of my lieutenants the senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings to the gods, and eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices; in my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have followed my chariot." The new ruler was not so warlike; he had

little relish for war, and in the military history of his reign we see not battles and conquests, but a succession of police regulations upon a large scale. No sovereign ever more sincerely sought peace through war.

In the East, where submissive Hellenism left him little to do, he employed the time of his stay in determining the relations of the Empire with the Armenians and Parthians. On this side the Romans touched the Euphrates in Syria only, and, excepting this break, the entire frontier from Pontus to the Red Sea was protected by vassal states. Augustus had lately made sure of their fidelity—here, by changing the ruler, there, by bestowing favours, as in the case of Archelaos the Cappadocian, and Herod, the king of the Jews, whose domains he had extended. These changes made with a strong hand, the presence of the emperor himself, and the near neighbourhood of a Roman army, above all, the respect imposed by the wise and admirable government of an empire recently so agitated, had produced upon the Armenians and Parthians a profound impression, and they had laid down their arms without contest.

In Armenia reigned Artaxias, the son of that Artavasdes so unjustly treated by Antony,[1] and naturally hostile to the Romans. In the year 20 B.C., intrigues, of which we know nothing in detail —which are called by Tacitus a plot among the relatives of this prince, but in which we have reason to suspect the hand of Rome— hurled him from the throne, and deputies came to Augustus, begging him to give them as king Tigranes, another son of Artavasdes. This prince, brought up at Rome, would be nothing else than an imperial proconsul upon the throne of Armenia. Augustus at once sent him into Asia with Tiberius and an army. The army was unnecessary; the Armenians put Artaxias to death, and Tiberius, who expected fighting, had only to place the crown upon the head of this new vassal of Rome.

At the news of these events the Parthians became alarmed. Since his victories over Antony Phraates had passed through many vicissitudes. Twice driven from his kingdom by a competitor to whom, in case of reverses, Syria was always an asylum; twice

[1] See vol. iii. p. 521.

restored again by the Scythians, he felt himself surrounded by enemies, and trembled at the faintest clash of arms on the banks of the Euphrates. In the year 23, when his rival Tiridates made ready, in the Roman provinces, to invade Parthia for the third time, Phraates demanded his extradition. He obtained only the restoration of a son long captive among the Romans, and was required in return to promise the return of the standards taken from Crassus. For three years he forgot to fulfil his promises, but the events in Armenia recalled them to his mind, and Augustus beheld the Parthians, basely renouncing their glory, give back to him the standards and the captives that they had taken in war.

By its effect upon men's minds this success was worth more than a victory; Augustus testified his gratitude to Phraates by rich presents. But there was perfidy hidden among these gifts. The emperor sent him a beautiful Italian, Thermusa by name, who gained such influence over the king that, after having supplanted all her rivals and caused herself to be declared queen,[2] she persuaded Phraates to intrust all his children to Augustus. From that time forward Rome was in a position to respond to an invasion of the Parthians by plunging their kingdom into civil war. The successors of Augustus found the procedure wise, and often sent to the princes of the East presents of gold and silver vases of rich workmanship, costly stuffs, fine wines, but chiefly fair slave-girls.

Phraates and Thermusa.[1]

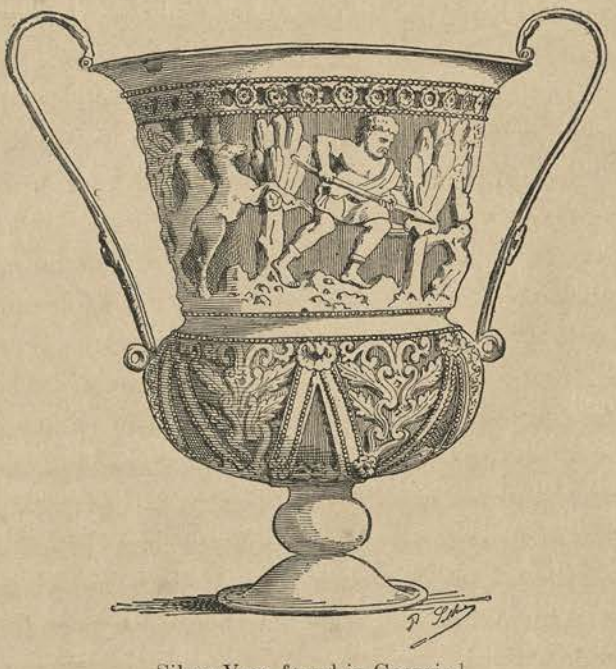
The frontier of the Euphrates was, therefore, made secure by the four legions encamped in Syria[3] and the vassal states along

[1] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ. Bust of king Phraates. . . . ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ. . . . Bust of queen Musa or Thermusa, coiffed with the tiara. Silver coin. [The right of coining gold did not belong to the client states. The Parthian empire was not among these, but, in the interests of its traders whose gold was refused by the Romans, it only coined silver.—*Ed.*]

[2] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3. Medals exist upon which is represented Thermusa as queen and goddess.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 5. There was also a garrison at the passes between Syria and Cilicia.

the river banks, by that Tigranes whom Tiberius had crowned in Armenia, and most of all by the fair Italian woman who reigned in Ctesiphon for the advantage of Rome, and was taking the necessary measures to secure to her son Phraataces the affection and the crown of the old king. At Rome public opinion was expecting even more: the talk was of conquests that were to give the Empire the ocean for a frontier, so that there should be on the earth one ruler supreme over the nations, as in heaven one sovereign divinity, master of all. Propertius, Tibullus, and Horace for a moment forgot their love-songs to celebrate the heroes who were about to overleap the Bactrian ramparts, to strip from their perfumed chiefs the linen garments they wore; to subjugate the Seres who rode upon iron-clad horses, the Getæ of icy climes, and the sun-scorched Indian. Virgil shared in the general intoxication, and already beheld Augustus erecting triumphal columns at the two extremities of the world.[2]



Silver Vase, found in Georgia.[1]

But the emperor, wiser than his poets, contented himself with obtaining from the Parthians an act of deference which might be construed as an act of submission, and provided himself with guarantees against them by giving himself the means of interfering in their affairs. He had renewed the relations of Mark Antony with Kanichka or his successor, and this powerful king of Bactriana,

[1] This silver vase, cut in open-work upon a background of glass, was found in Georgia in 1871, and is now in the Museum of St. Petersburg.

[2] Proper., *Carm.*, III. iv. and xii.; IV. iii.; Tibullus, *Carm.*, IV. i.; Hor., *Carm.*, II. ix.; III. v.; *Epist.*, I. xii.; Virgil, *Georg.*, ii. 172; iii. 16.

who, says Strabo, gave law to six hundred princes on the two shores of the Indus, sent him at Samos a sumptuous embassy whose arrival made a great stir in the Empire, especially when, in the presence of Augustus, a philosopher who had come with the ambassadors took his place laughing upon the funeral pyre prepared for him at Athens.

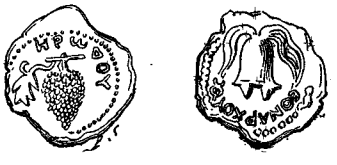
Of more importance than the useless death of this conceited madman was the establishment of friendly relations with the Indian ruler, and no doubt with others, for the same policy was repeated all along the frontiers. In the Inscription of Ancyra Augustus enumerates complacently the nations who had sought his friendship, and boasts that he, first of all the Roman rulers, had received embassies from India; and he was right in being proud of this fact, for it concerned commerce as much as statesmanship. During the entire reign of Augustus order was never once seriously disturbed in the East. The expedition sent there (1 A.D.) under the command of C. Cæsar, was less with the purpose of defending Syria, which was not threatened in any way, than with the design of attracting public attention to the young heir of Augustus, and gaining for him, at small cost, something of military renown. The king of Parthia came as far as the Euphrates to meet him, a procedure which must have secured the tranquility of those regions by showing that the two empires were closely united. Armenia was in some agitation; Caius entered this country, and after a few easy victories gave them Ariobarzanes the Median as king. Established between the Armenians and the Parthians, it was for the interest of the Medians to be on friendly terms with Rome. The alliance which they had offered Antony[1] Augustus now sought. After the death of Ariobarzanes the emperor allowed that prince's son to succeed him. The Median dynasty was thus established upon the throne of Armenia, but a national opposition seems to have arisen against these foreign rulers; Artavasdes was killed, and, thereupon, Augustus, abandoning an unsuccessful policy, gave to the Armenians a descendant, real or pretended, of their former kings, one Tigranes, whose name is not given by ancient historians, but who appears on the *Monument of Ancyra* (No. 27).

[1] Vol. iii. p. 519.

An event which made less noise than these royal catastrophes, but is for us more significant, was the death of Lollius, whom the emperor had appointed as tutor to his grandson. This counsellor sold his influence to the Eastern kings and in a short time had amassed a scandalous fortune; the king of Parthia, from whom he probably sought to extort too much, denounced him to Caius, and being at once disgraced, Lollius took poison.[1] We infer from this that if proconsular fashions were not entirely forgotten, it was, nevertheless, under great risks that they were now practised.

Augustus and Artavasdes.[2]

In Judæa, Herod had died four years before the commencement of our era, and Archelaos, his son, whom he had designated as his successor, dared not take the title of king without the emperor's consent, who granted him merely that of ethnarch, with Judæa, Samaria, and Idumæa. His tyranny causing violent tumults, Augustus required him to appear and answer to the accusations of his subjects, upon which the emperor exiled him to Vienne in Gaul, where he died (6 A. D.). While Judæa was periodically deluged with blood by the violent conduct of her petty kings and her factions, Syria was developing an undisturbed prosperity, in the enjoyment of the profound peace which the Roman power bestowed. Won at last by the contrast, the Jews asked and obtained the annexation of their country to the imperial territory. The change was most simple; a king and court, with endless intrigues and exactions, disappeared from Palestine, and, instead, there was a Roman procurator, having the *jus gladii*, although placed under the supreme authority of the governor of Syria. The country preserved its religion, its municipal liberties, and its judicial rights, with the single exception that its



Coin of Herod Archelaos.[3]

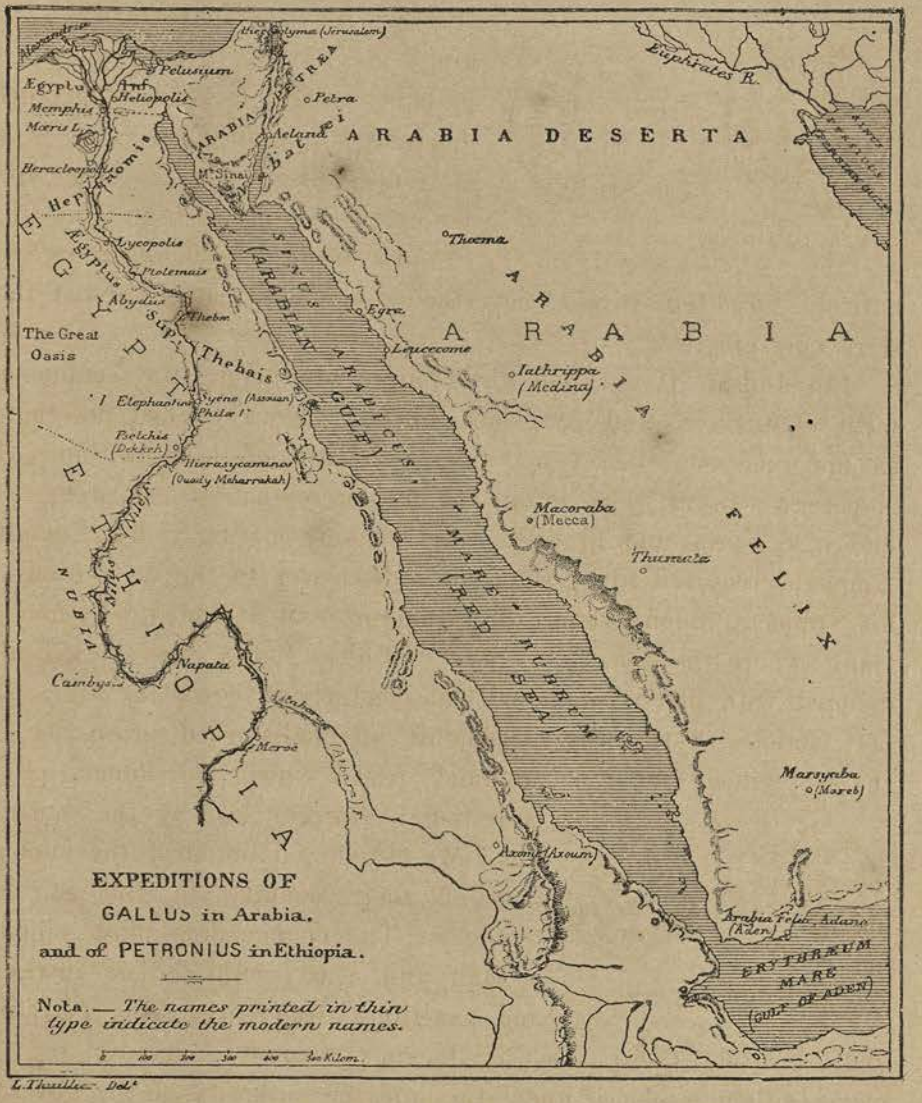
[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 101-2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, ix. 58.

[2] ΘΕΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥ. Laurelled head of Augustus. On the reverse, ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΥΑΣΔΟΥ. Diademed head of Artavasdes II. Unique denarius in the British Museum, published in the *Dict. de Numism.*, i. p. 437, No. 930.

[3] ΗΡΩΔΟΥ. Bunch of grapes. On the reverse, a helmet and ΕΘΝΑΡΧΟΥ. Bronze coin.

magistrates could not execute the death penalty without the sanction of the procurator. This was a precaution against local animosities and a safeguard for the condemned.

In the southern part of the Empire a few wars had occurred



Map for the Expedition of Gallus and Petronius (p. 102).

before and during the sojourn of Augustus in the East. Every year numerous fleets traversed the Red Sea on their way to India, and, navigating a dangerous sea, had need of ports of shelter along the route. Augustus formed the design of subjugating the nations

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along these shores, and of laying hands upon Arabia Felix, which the ancient world believed to be full of marvellous riches. In 24 B.C. Ælius Gallus set out from Egypt with 10,000 soldiers, guided by a Nabathæan chief.[1] These Arabs, whose capital was the commercial centre of the peninsula, were interested in making the expedition fail. Gallus, deceived by his guide, wandered for six months through the desert; he, however, took several places and penetrated till within two days' journey of "the Frankincense country;" but disease and lack of provisions compelled him to retrace his steps.[2]

Meanwhile, the Candace or queen of Ethiopia, believing Egypt deprived of troops, invaded it and captured Syene, Elephantine, and Philæ (22 B.C.). Petronius, with but 10,000 men, drove out the Ethiopians, followed them a distance of 970 miles,[3] as far as their capital, Napata, which he took. A second attack made by the Candace upon a post that the prefect had fortified, five days' journey southward from Philæ, was so unsuccessful that the queen consented to pay tribute and to send ambassadors to Augustus. He received them at Samos, whither came also the Indian and Scythian deputies bringing gifts.[4] Content with having made the Ethiopians feel that the deserts did not place them beyond reach, he had the prudence to remit the tribute.

This double expedition on the two shores of the Arabian Gulf had not succeeded; it had, however, carried the Roman name and a salutary fear of Rome into these regions, and the commerce of the Red Sea became more active in consequence.[5]

The Fasti Capitolini place in this year (21 B.C.) a triumph of

[1] We follow the chronology of Clinton, *Fasti Hellen.* Strabo, however, who was the friend of Gallus, places the expedition of the Candace at the same time with that of the Romans into Arabia. These difficulties are not irreconcilable. Gallus, who left Egypt in the year 24, passed the summer and winter at Leuce Come, wandered for six months of the year 23 in the deserts, returning at last in two months to the shore of the Red Sea, may very easily have been absent from Egypt until the beginning of the year 22.

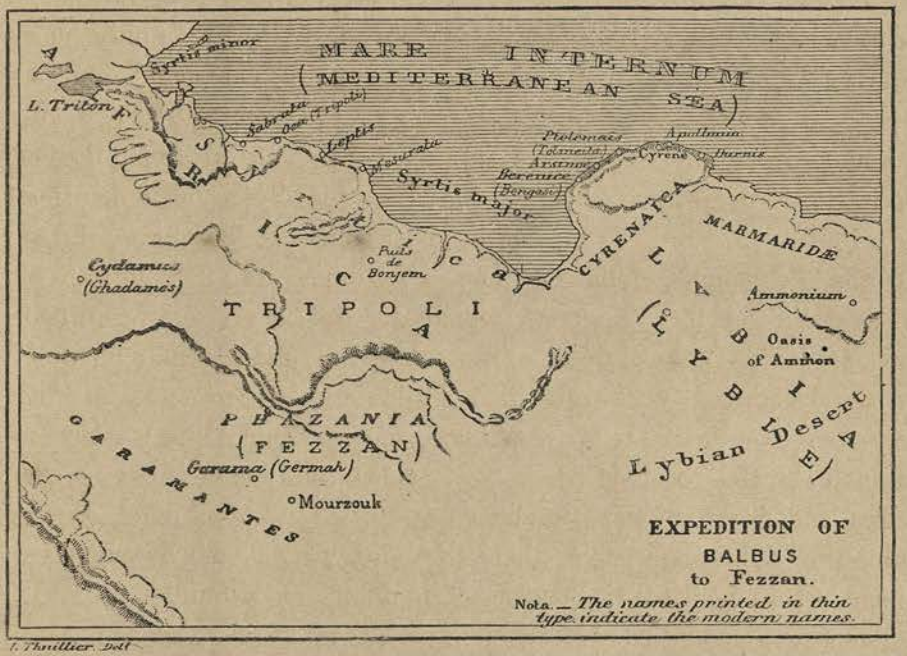
[2] Gosselin places the city of Marsyaba, where the Roman general turned back, two days' journey from Mecca; M. Fresnel, in the heart of Hadramant (*Journal Asiat.*, July and Sept., 1840); M. Noël des Vergers and M. Caussin de Perceval incline to Yemen.

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vi. 29.

[4] Strabo, xvii. p. 821, and xv. p. 719.

[5] The emperor's grandson Caius carried the Roman standards into Arabia later, and as far as the shores of the Red Sea, where, if we may believe Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, ii. 67), he recognized fragments of Spanish vessels which had been wrecked there.

Sempronius Atratinus, for successes in Africa, and in the year 19 another African triumph, decreed to Cornelius Balbus.[1] This African proconsul had followed the track of the early Carthaginian traders as far as Fezzan,[2] a great oasis which has always been the chief market of northern Africa. It is the meeting-place of caravans from Morocco and from Egypt, from Soudan and



Map for the Expedition of Cornelius Balbus.

from the shores of the Mediterranean, and is said to contain a hundred villages. Balbus united this region to the province of Africa,[3] and at the present day may still be seen, on the frontier at the well of Bonjem, a Roman structure built of enormous blocks of stone, once a station of the imperial troops.[4]

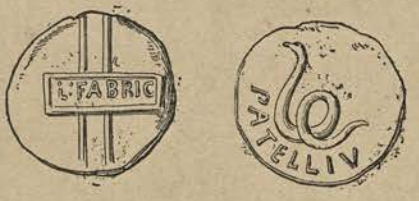
[1] Florus (iv. 12) speaks of a successful expedition of Quirinius against the Marmarides and the Garamantes.

[2] The capital of this region, Mourzook, is thirty-five days' journey from Tripoli. Cf. Ritter, *Erdkunde*, Part I. 3, 989. Captain Lyon (*A Narrative of Travels in Northern Africa*), who set out from Mourzook the 9th of February, 1820, reached the Mediterranean, between Lebida and Mesurata, on the 18th of March, having rested six days while on the way (chap. ix.).

[3] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 3. The two principal places taken by Balbus were Cydamus (Ghadames), eighty leagues from Tripoli, and Garamah (Germah), much more remote.

[4] The inscription upon it bears the name of Septimius Severus. (Lyon's *Narrative*, vii. 240.) This traveller found, in 1819, the great oasis extremely arid, but he regards it as the necessary stage for those persons seeking to pass through from Tripoli to Soudan.

In Africa, then, the Romans made their way across the desert to renew the early commercial relations of Carthage, the Cyrenæans, and Egypt with the markets of the interior, and their fleets ventured to traverse the Indian Ocean. Upon this frontier the policy of Augustus was altogether commercial, active, and enterprising, and its results were for these provinces a prosperity greater and more durable than at any other point of the Empire.



Coin of a Proconsul of the Cyrenaica.[1]

In Asia, where he found himself in the presence of old states whose resources he knew, he had been firm, but reserved, using diplomacy rather than force; and he had laid the foundations of that system of pacific influence and intervention which caused peace to prevail so long upon the banks of the Euphrates. And so, when, after three well-occupied years (21-19), he returned to Rome, which Egnatius Rufus had lately been agitating in the name of the liberty of the comitia, the people, forgetting the complaints and counsels of this designing person, whom they had for a moment followed as the crowd follows any curiosity, hastened to welcome Augustus, and offered him the consulship for life and the censorship under the new designation of *præfectura morum;* then repeated in Horace's verses that the queen of Ethiopia was a fugitive, Armenia almost wholly subdued, the Dacians conquered, and how, in the presence of a court formed by the deputies of all nations, a Parthian chief knelt before Augustus and accepted a crown from the emperor's hands.[3] Nothing had ever flattered the Roman pride so much as this apparent submission of an enemy reputed invincible. In memory

Caius and Lucius Cæsar.[2]

[1] Bronze coin of L. FABRICius PATELLIVs, first proconsul of the Cyrenaica after the division of the provinces made by Augustus in the year 27 B.C.

[2] From a bronze coin struck at Corinth.

[3] Suet., *Octav.*, 21; Justin, XLII. v.; Hor., *Epist.*, I. xii.; *Carm.*, I. xi.; II. iv. 8.

of this bloodless victory an arch of triumph was erected to him who had delivered the captive eagles, and the standards themselves were placed in the temple of Mars the Avenger, where all kings soliciting the friendship of Augustus were required to attest their fidelity in presence of these reconquered trophies.[1]

Augustus was now at the height of his prosperity. Peace prevailed along the frontiers, anarchy had been subdued at home, and good laws with wise reforms justified his power. Around him were grouped a numerous family and many men of genius. Octavia was yet alive; Julia, at this time the wife of Agrippa, and protected against her own vices by her husband's virtues, was the mother of sons and daughters; two of these princes, Caius and Lucius, adopted by their grandfather, were destined to continue the imperial race;[2] and Livia as yet had not begun to regard them as the rivals of her son Tiberius. The latter up to this time had exhibited only his talents, while Drusus, beloved of the people and the army, was about to have the opportunity of displaying his courage.

Lucius Cæsar.[3]

Some clouds, however, were beginning to gather on this brilliant horizon. Marcellus was dead, and poetry was veiled in mourning, for the epic bard lay dying (19 B.C.) at Brundusium, and Tibullus shortly followed him to the tomb. But the death of Marcellus,

[1] See, in vol. iii. p. 750, the ruins of this temple, and p. 749, the restoration which has been made of it.

[2] One born in 20 the other in 17 B.C.

[3] Lucius Cæsar, son of Agrippa; statue found at Telesia, near Capua (Museum of Naples).

who might possibly have disappointed the hopes he raised, was the means of restoring Agrippa to the Empire; Ovid and Propertius filled the place left vacant by Tibullus, and the Muses could divide between Horace and Livy the wreath fallen from Virgil's brow.

II.—Frontier of the Rhine and Danube.

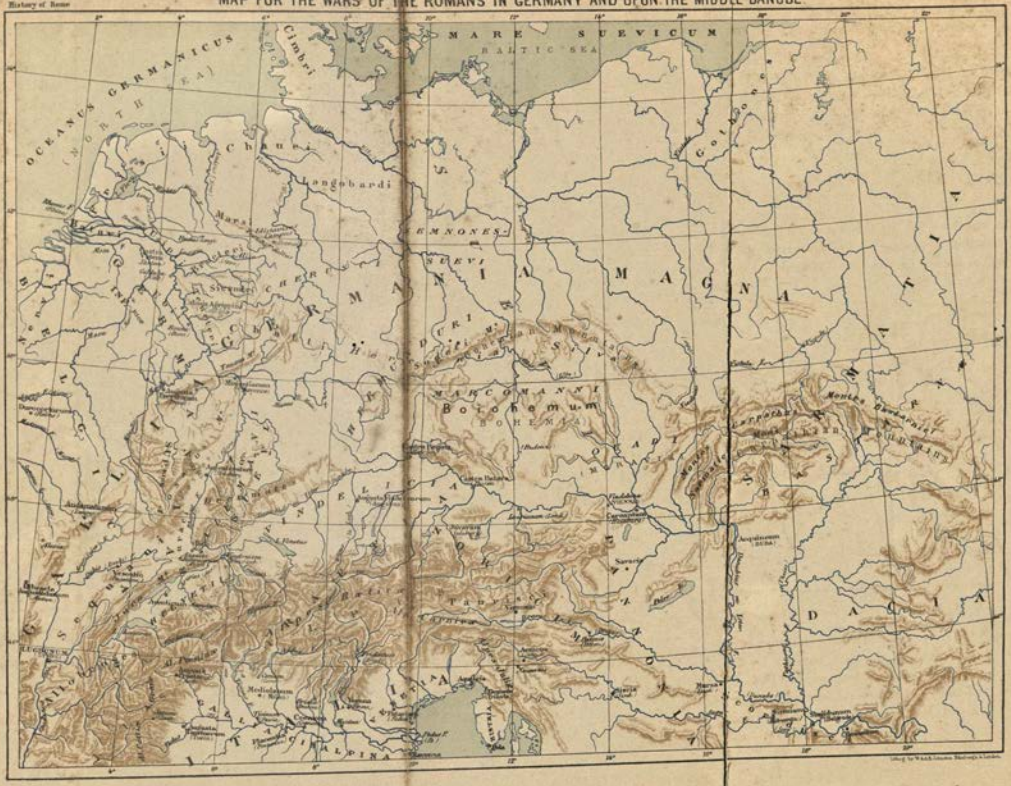
The first blow felt by this wonderful prosperity came from the quarter destined to produce all the dangers of the Empire—from the banks of the Rhine. Certain of the Sicambri, Usipetes, and Tencteri

German Cavalry attacking the Romans.[1]

had crossed the river, defeated a force of Roman cavalry, and deprived Lollius of the eagle of the fifth legion. To this attack, as to a concerted signal, responded a long war-cry from all the bank of the Danube, and the barbaric world seemed to rise in arms like one man. Istria and Macedon were invaded, and the Roman vassal in

[1] From the column of Antoninus.

MAP FOR THE WARS OF THE ROMANS IN GERMANY AND UPON THE MIDDLE DANUBE.



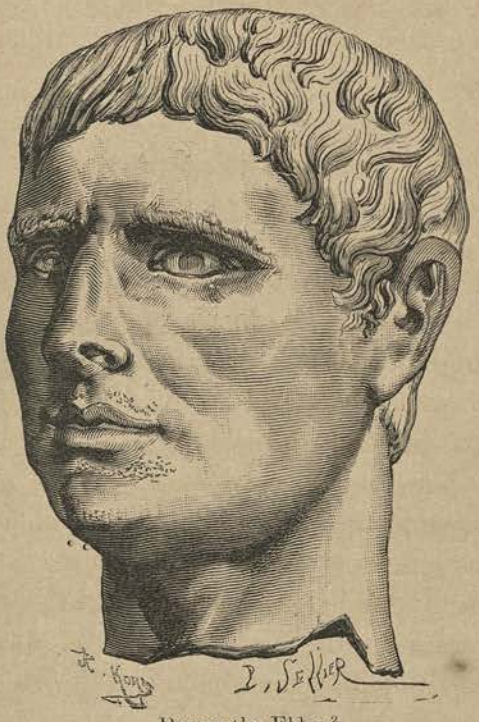
Thrace, Rhœmetalces, called the legions to his aid against the Bessi and Sauromatæ (17 and 16 B.C.)[1] Augustus, although taken by surprise, acted with resolution. He re-opened the temple of Janus, and dividing, as he had before done, the administration of the Empire with his son-in-law Agrippa, who was at this time associated with him for five years in the tribunitian power, he sent the latter into Syria, to keep watch that this tumult should not be echoed in the East. He himself, a few months later, went into Gaul (16 B.C.). Upon his approach, the Sicambri retired into their forests after having given hostages, and the imperial lieutenants in Germany, Pannonia, Noricum, and Thrace, everywhere resuming the offensive, subdued the revolt, or drove back the invaders across the Rhine and Danube. The lieutenant in Germany, Domitius Ahenobarbus, outstripping the boldest of his predecessors, even carried his eagles across the Elbe, making alliance with the inhabitants and erecting in their midst an altar to Augustus, for the purpose of attracting these people to a respect for the Empire and its divinities.[2] The altar of the Ubians was the sign erected by Rome on the banks of the Rhine to call about her the Germans of the west; that of Domitius, if it may last, will be a centre whence Roman influence will radiate throughout the region between the Elbe and the Oder (15 B.C.). On his return Domitius constructed across the marshy plains which lie between the Ems and the Weser the *Pontes longi*. With the sword the Romans gained battles; with fortresses and roads they secured the results of their military successes.

Between Gaul and Pannonia the frontier of the Empire was broken by the Alps, that fortress of Central Europe which was occupied by poor and savage mountaineers. Whatever they had not they took by violence, and their incursions desolated the rich plains which lay beneath them. We may remember the despair of the Helvetii, who decided to abandon their homes to escape from these attacks, which it was alike impossible to foresee and to avenge. The inhabitants of the Cisalpina were equally unfortunate. Augustus, to bring this to an end, despatched Drusus and Tiberius to subjugate the Rhætians. The two brothers, setting out simultaneously from

[1] Dion, liv. 20. In the year 27 B.C. Crassus had triumphed over the Bessi and the Bastarnæ. (*Id.*, li. 24.)

[2] Dion, liv. 20.

Italy and from Gaul, met in Rhætia, and the barbarians, pursued across their lakes and tracked over their mountains, yielded to Roman discipline.[1] As had been done by Agrippa in the case of the Cantabrians, these mountain tribes were torn from the country where they would have for ever remembered their past freedom, and only enough were left for the cultivation of the fields. The same fate was meted out to the inhabitants of Noricum and to the Taurisci.



Drusus the Elder.[2]

The conquerors at once became pioneers, laying out roads and building forts; and Augustus boldly threw out, beyond the mountains and the Rhine and but a short distance from the Danube, a great colony, Augusta Vindelicorum (Augsburg). Communicating with Italy by a road through the country of the Grisons, and built on the bank of a stream, the Lech, which falls into one of the two great rivers of Germany and rises near the other, the capital of the new provinces was well situated to guard the most vulnerable part of the Roman frontier on the side of Germany.[3] Lower down upon the Danube, at the point where Noricum touches Pannonia, a very strong place, Carnuntum, was built, to

Drusus the Elder.

[1] Hor., *Carm.*, iv. 14; Strabo, vii. 292.

[2] *Cabinet de France.* A gift of the Duc de Luynes. This very expressive head, found in Samnium in 1848, has for some time borne the name of Drusus, son of Livia. This designation is far from certain, but from its style we may fix the date of this bronze in the first century of the Christian era, and may regard this personage as a contemporary of Augustus.

[3] Rhætia and Vindelicia were not considered provinces until the reign of Tiberius. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 39.)

hold in check the two provinces.[1] Augustus, from Gaul, superintended these important operations, being detained there by the necessity of perfecting the organization of that country.[2] When he left Gaul he appointed Drusus to the charge of the province; and so it was the emperor's son, one of the heirs of his power, who now took up his abode in these rude countries to protect them against the barbarians, an instance of solicitude for new subjects which had never before been shown in the history of Rome.

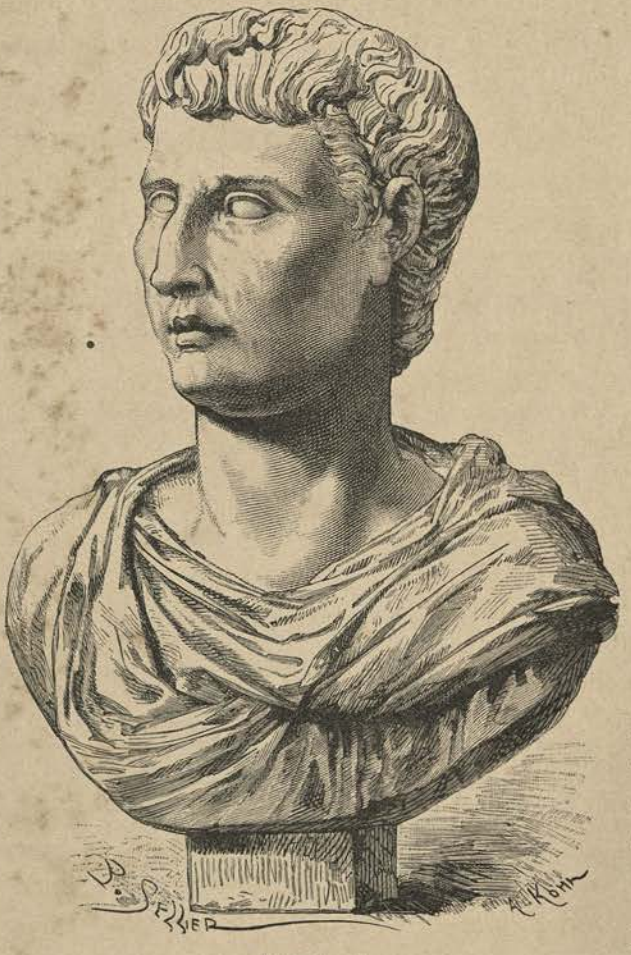
At the opposite extremity of the Empire Agrippa was visiting Judæa, where he sacrificed in the temple of Jerusalem; he also made a tour through all the oriental provinces. Details are wanting of his labours; historians only speak of Berytus, raised by him from its ruins, and of a solemn judicial decision which put an end to the long quarrels of the Jews and Greeks in the cities of Asia.[3] But we know his activity and his devotion to the public good, and we may be sure that this skilful administrator and formidable warrior employed usefully, and for the welfare of the provinces, this sojourn of four years in the East. Not once was he obliged to resort to the sword, although he made himself master of a kingdom. A certain Scribonius, who gave himself out to be the grandson of the great Mithridates, had seized upon the Cimmerian Bosphorus, where, some time later, he had been murdered by his subjects. To put an end to disturbances which interfered with the commercial transactions of which that state was the centre, the Roman general decided to unite it to the kingdom of Pontus, and accordingly ordered Polemon to take possession of the Bosphorus. Augustus, for the sake of having peace upon the frontiers, sought to fortify the petty states, vassals of the Empire, with as much care as, in early days, the senate had bestowed upon enfeebling them. The inhabitants in this case resisted, but the news that Agrippa was approaching Sinope with a fleet under the command of Herod, sufficed to make them lay down their arms. Prompted by his position, which made him and his children the

[1] The date is not known, but in the year 5 A.D. it served as a military depôt. (Vell. Paterc., ii. 109.)

[2] Many of the colonies of Augustus in Spain and Gaul date from this epoch. (Dion, liv. 23 and 25.)

[3] Strabo, xvi. 756; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvi. 2.

heirs of the emperor, to promote by his own example the habits suited to a monarchy, Agrippa refused the triumph which was decreed to him. His conduct gave the example for the other generals, and the most brilliant victories no longer brought the triumphal insignia to those who had gained them. We ought not, however, to regard this moderation as unworthy flattery, nor to see ridiculous vanity in the ruler who, himself, went up to the Capitol upon the news of his lieutenants' victories. In this nation of soldiers the military idea had been over-mastered by the religious: for them the real conqueror was the imperator who had obtained the favourable auspices, and not the general who had fought in the field. Many, it is true, no longer gave credence to the idea of divine favour attested by the entrails of the victims, but still the custom lasted.



Augustus.[1]

The modesty of Agrippa was suggested by that of the ruler himself: on his return from Gaul Augustus entered the city by night. On the morrow, after having saluted the people, who had gathered about his dwelling, he went to the Capitol to deposit before the statue of Jupiter the laurels with which his fasces were wreathed, and then

[1] Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

to the Curia to give an account to the senate there assembled of all that he had done since his departure from Rome.

Peace being everywhere restored or maintained, the two chiefs of the Empire returned to Rome at about the same time (13 B.C.). Augustus now accepted the office of pontifex maximus, and Agrippa was continued for five years in the tribunitian authority. But the busy life of this great minister was nearing its end. Being sent against the Pannonians, who were in revolt, he had only to appear and at once receive their submission; and he was returning when an attack of illness arrested him in Campania. Augustus, who received the news while witnessing public games, hastened to the spot, but arrived too late to see his son-in-law alive (March, 12 B.C.). The emperor's grief was deep, for he lost in Agrippa less a lieutenant than a friend and indispensable colleague before whom all ambition held its peace. Nothing had so much contributed to the security of the new government as the example of this Roman of the old school, as rich in valour and renown as the greatest men of the Republic, but effacing himself willingly before the ruler and giving him all the glory. Posterity, which has placed Mæcenas above the rest, has been unjust towards this indefatigable worker, for whom power was but the obligation to act unremittingly for the public good. But if, since the battle of Actium, the Empire had been at last governed and no longer given up to pillage, a great share in that change must be ascribed

Agrippa.[1]

[1] Bust found at Gabii (Museum of the Louvre).

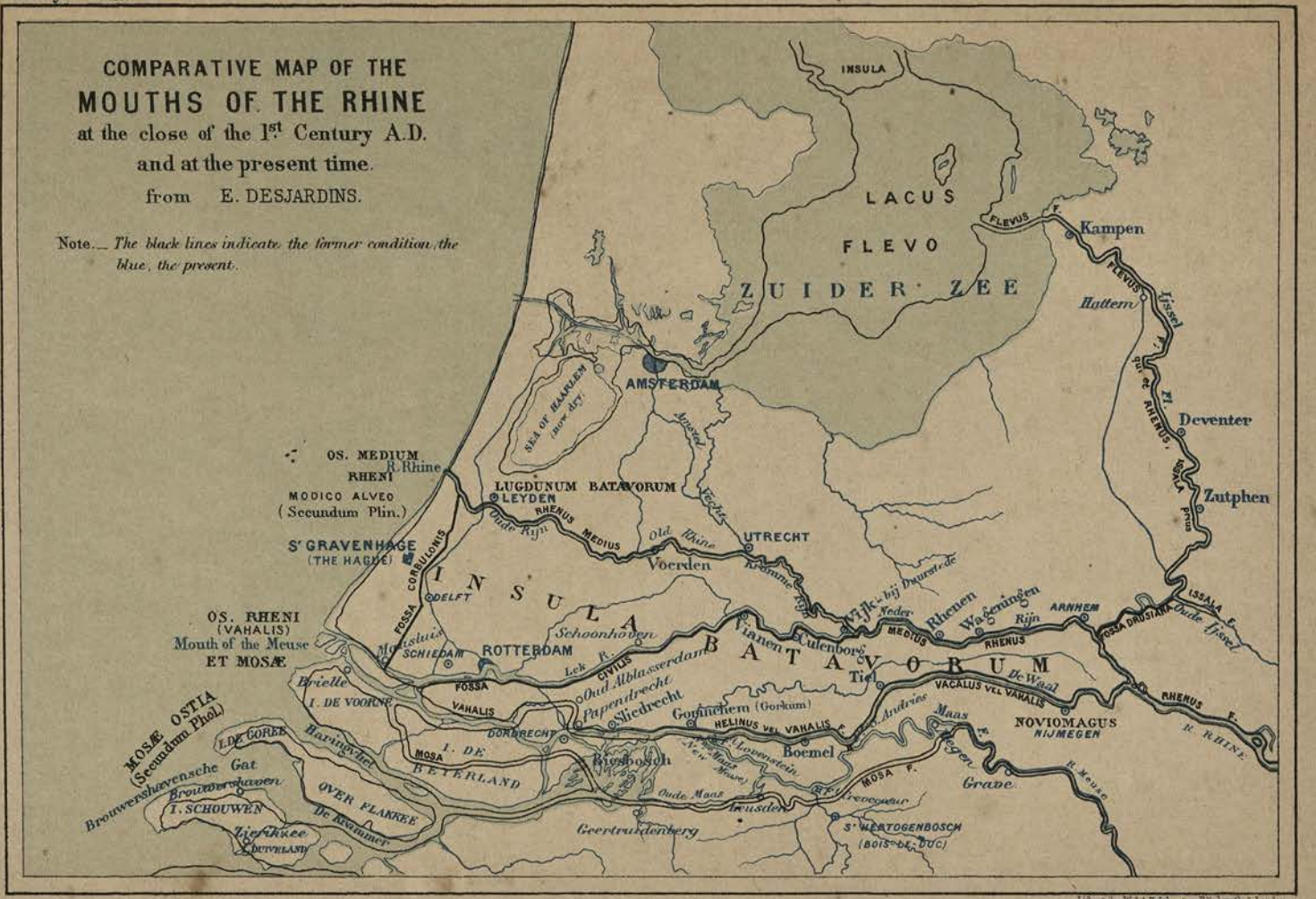
to the man whom we find always busy in the promotion of the public interest. Let him then remain associated with the fame of Augustus, as he was with the labours of the emperor, whether in the senate, in magistracies, in council, or upon fields of battle![1]

The death of Agrippa left in the imperial family a void which could not be filled, and marked the beginning of that second period of long reigns which is so often sad and enfeebled. From that day solitude and mourning constantly deepened around Augustus. Already Mæcenas seems to be in disgrace,[2] and Horace refuses the overtures made him by the master of the world. Surrounded by intrigues and plots, persuaded into dangerous wars, smitten with a great public disaster, Augustus was destined to see his near relatives die one after another, or live to cover his house with infamy, and at seventy-six years of age to be left, the survivor of his children, friends, and great men, alone with Tiberius in the world.

The work, roughly sketched out during the second sojourn of Augustus on the other side of the Alps, had need to be taken up again and carried forward. Drusus, left in Gaul to complete the census and keep watch upon the Germans, attached the provincials to himself by his affable manners, and brought them to make the demonstration of which mention has been made (p. 23)—the erection of a temple to Rome and Augustus. As the submissiveness of Gaul left him without anxiety on their account, he crossed the Rhine, carefully inspected the right bank, constructed forts to guard the fords, and, these precautions being completed, prepared for a serious expedition. The extensive plain of northern Germany is intersected by many rivers—the Ems, the Weser, and the Elbe—which, running northward, form a series of lines of defence against an enemy coming from the Rhine. But, should this enemy

[1] Dion, liv. 28. He was fifty-one years of age. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, vii. 8.) Augustus pronounced his funeral oration, and caused him to be buried in the imperial tomb.

[2] Tacitus, at least, says this (*Ann.*, iii. 30): *Ætate provecta, speciem magis in amicitia principis quam vim tenuit;* and he adds a fine sentence in regard to the fatality of power which cannot last for ever, and the disgust which seizes princes who have given all and favourites who have obtained all. Pliny, much more simply and truly, says (vii. 52) that Mæcenas suffered for a long time from a nervous malady, and from a feverish condition, which, "during the last three years of his life, never allowed him an hour's sleep." It is plain that a counsellor in such a condition of health could have been but rarely consulted. How often the grand style of Tacitus conceals emptiness or error!


COMPARATIVE MAP OF THE
MOUTHS OF THE RHINE
at the close of the 1st Century A.D.
and at the present time.
from E. DESJARDINS.
Note.— The black lines indicate the former condition, the blue, the present.
INSULA
LACUS
FLEVO
ZUIDER ZEE
FLEVUS
Kampen
Hattem
Deventer
Zutphen
AMSTERDAM
SEA OF HARLEM (now dry)
OS. MEDIUM
R. Rhine
RHENI
MODICO ALVEO
(Secundum Plin.)
LUGDUNUM BATAVORUM
LEYDEN
RHENUS
MEDIUS
Oude Rijn
Old Rhine
UTRECHT
Voerden
S' GRAVENHAGE
(THE HAGUE)
CORBULONIS
FOSSA
DELFT
INSULA BATAVORUM
OS. RHENI
(VAHALIS)
Mouth of the Meuse
ET MOSÆ
SCHIEDAM
ROTTERDAM
Schoonhoven
Lek R.
CIVILIS
FOSSA
Oud Alblasserdam
Papendrecht
Vianen
Culemborg
Tiel
Wageningen
Rhenen
ARNHEM
DRUSIANA
Ijssel
MEDIUS
RHENUS
Brielle
I. DE VOORNE
VAHALIS
Dordrecht
Sliedrecht
Gorinchem (Gorkum)
HELINUS vel VAHALIS
De Waal
VACALIS vel VAHALIS
NOVIOMAGUS
NIJMEGEN
RHENUS
R. RHINE
MOSÆ OSTIA
(Secundum Phol.)
I. DE GOREE
Haringvliet
Brouwershavensche Gat
Brouwershaven
I. SCHOUWEN
OVER FLAKKEE
De Kwammer
Ziriksee
I. DUIVELAND
I. DE BETERLAND
MOSA
Boemel
Grave
R. Meuse
Geertruidenberg
's HERTOGENBOSCH
(BOIS-LE-DUC)
Lithog. by W. & A.K. Johnston, Edinburgh & London.

arrive by sea, these rivers give him access to the interior of the country. Drusus took this latter route, which brought him rapidly upon the rear of the most tumultuous of the German tribes. To avoid the dangerous navigation along the Batavian coast, he made a canal (*Fossa Drusiana*) from the Rhine to the Yssel,[1] by which his vessels passed through to the Flevo Lacus (Zuyder-Zee), whose outlet was into the North Sea. The Frisii having allowed themselves to be readily gained over, Drusus boldly sailed up the Ems, where he defeated the Bructeri in a naval engagement, and then advanced as far as the mouths of the Weser, where his vessels, stranded at low tide, would have been destroyed by the Chauci had not the Frisii, who were following his movements by land, arrived in time to relieve him.

This first expedition either frightened or persuaded into alliance with Rome the northern tribes, long hostile to their neighbours of the south; among others, the Chauci, who gained by their defection this eulogium from Tacitus: "The most noble among the German tribes, who support their greatness by right conduct." But the Sicambri, Cherusci, and Suevi, forgetting their former quarrels, united their forces against the invading Romans. The Catti refused to join the league, a powerful people whose infantry was renowned. "Others go forth to battle," says Tacitus, "but the Catti to war." The Sicambri, to punish what they regarded as treason, invaded the country of the Catti. Drusus seized the occasion; he threw a bridge across the Rhine near the mouth of the Lippe, an operation since Cæsar's time of no great difficulty; and a second time he penetrated as far the Weser. Arrested on the banks of this river by a lack of provisions, he retired; but his return was a succession of conflicts, and, near the sources of the Lippe, the Roman army, hemmed in on every side, seemed near some great disaster. The barbarians, who had burned alive twenty centurions, were already agreeing upon a division of the spoils: to the Sicambri, the captives; to the Suevi, the silver and gold; to the Cherusci, the horses. A vigorous effort delivered the legions

[1] Upon his return he made search for the Pillars of Hercules, a confused tradition perhaps left upon these shores by some Carthaginian navigator. "Drusus was not lacking in boldness," says Tacitus, "but Oceanus guarded the secrets of Hercules and his own. Thereafter, no man made the attempt: it was judged more devout and reverential to believe in the works of the gods than to investigate them."

and dispelled the barbarian dreams of victory. Drusus built here the fortress Aliso (Hamm, or Elsen, near Paderborn), and left a garrison in it, to serve as a point of support for subsequent operations; and a second fort, built nearer the Rhine, united this outpost with the main line of the Roman defences (11 B.C.).

By the recent subjugation of the Rhæti and Vindelici, Rome had approached the Danube, but this river still belonged to the barbarians. During the campaigns of Drusus in Germany they rose in arms, and from Noricum to the Euxine all the country was in a blaze. In Thrace, Augustus, to reward the fidelity of the Odrysi, had given up to them some lands of the Bessi which had been consecrated to Bacchus. A priest of this god made an appeal to arms, beginning by the murder of one of the two sons of Cotys and the expulsion of the other's tutor, Rhœmetalces, who was driven as far as the Chersonesus. The whole of Thrace was lost and even Macedon invaded. L. Piso, a skilful general, delivered these provinces after an arduous struggle, and Rhœmetalces, being declared king, received the injunction to watch more carefully over the peace of these regions. It would seem that he acquitted himself successfully in this task, for later he was in a position to furnish useful assistance against the Dalmatians and Pannonians.

In this quarter the war was conducted by Tiberius. In the year 12 B.C. he devastated the whole country of Pannonia, disarmed the population, and sold the bravest as slaves. But a year later this people had recovered weapons and warriors; the Dalmatians, excited by this general awakening among the barbaric nationalities, also broke off their relations with Rome, and Augustus, in alarm, again saw war at the gates of Italy.[2] Tiberius dispelled the danger by his activity, and deservedly shared the honours decreed to Drusus for the successes across the Rhine.

Rhœmetalces.[1]

The repeated defeats of the Dalmatians and Pannonians, the friendship of the great nation of the Scordisci, and the vigilance

[1] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΡΟΙΜΗΤΑΛΚΟΥ (of the king Rhœmetalces). The medals of this prince have the prænomens of Caius Julius and the head of Augustus.

[2] It was on this occasion that Dalmatia was made one of the imperial provinces. (Dion, liv. 34.)

of Rhœmetalces giving promise of a lasting peace along the Danube, Augustus formed the design of visiting and examining the other frontier, namely, that of the Rhine, and in the year 12 B.C. he went into Gaul a third time, accompanied by Tiberius and Drusus. The case must have been very grave to bring the three chiefs of the Empire to visit this province at the same time. Augustus expected, by his presence, to increase the affection of the Gauls for Rome,[1] and he also wished to determine the measures which should be adopted in carrying on that war in Germany which was always successful and always unprofitable. Notwithstanding the pacific character of his intentions, he knew perfectly well that the Empire could not halt at the Rhine. To remain the peaceful master of the left bank it was needful to rule far

Altar at Mayence (details).

across the river. There were then two sorts of operations to be carried on: one class defensive, to render the position on the Rhine absolutely impregnable; the other offensive, to carry terror into the midst of the German tribes, and render them, if not obedient, at least quiet. Augustus concerned himself especially with the former. With the intention of subjecting this frontier to a more active surveillance he separated the Rhine valley from Belgica, and formed two governments, Germania Superior and Inferior.[2] To defend the passage of the river he constructed a line of fifty forts, resting on Mayence, Bonn, and Xanten. Opposite

[1] Gallic auxiliaries served in the army of Drusus, among whom the Nervii distinguished themselves. (Livy, *Epit.*, cxxxix.) After the defeat of Varus, the Belgæ offered to attack the Germans and avenge his death. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 43.)

[2] We have not the exact date of this partition, but it appears to have taken place in the time of Augustus, for in the year 9 A.D. Cologne had, like Lyons, an altar to Rome and Augustus, with an elected *sacerdos*, which leads us to suppose a provincial organization. (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 39, 57.) Upper Germany extended from the Aar to the Moselle, Lower Germany from the Moselle to the sea.

Mayence fortifications were begun upon the Taunus, which were destined to extend across the entire Hercynian Forest. Then where the river growing wider becomes at the same time shallower and less rapid, a second line of defence was established behind the first, by entrenched posts upon the Meuse.[1] To these measures were joined the founding of Gallic colonies in Suabia, an open territory through which the Germans might come, between the Rhine and Danube, into the Roman possessions. Emigration, encouraged by the governors of Gaul, brought into the *agri decumates*, or tithe-paying lands, a crowd of adventurers, who protected this weak point in the Gallo-Rhætic frontier.[2] The city of the Rauraci (Augst, near Basle), in the great bend of the Rhine, commenced by Plancus, the founder of Lyons, received new accessions; and two legions established, one in Upper Alsace, the other at Vindonissa among the Helvetii, closed that gap of the Jura and the Vosges through which Ariovistus had passed.

Altar of Mayence.[3]

All these points were well selected to make the Rhine an impassible barrier; and they were also admirable points whence to take the offensive, for from their camps the legions could be flung into the very heart of Germany.

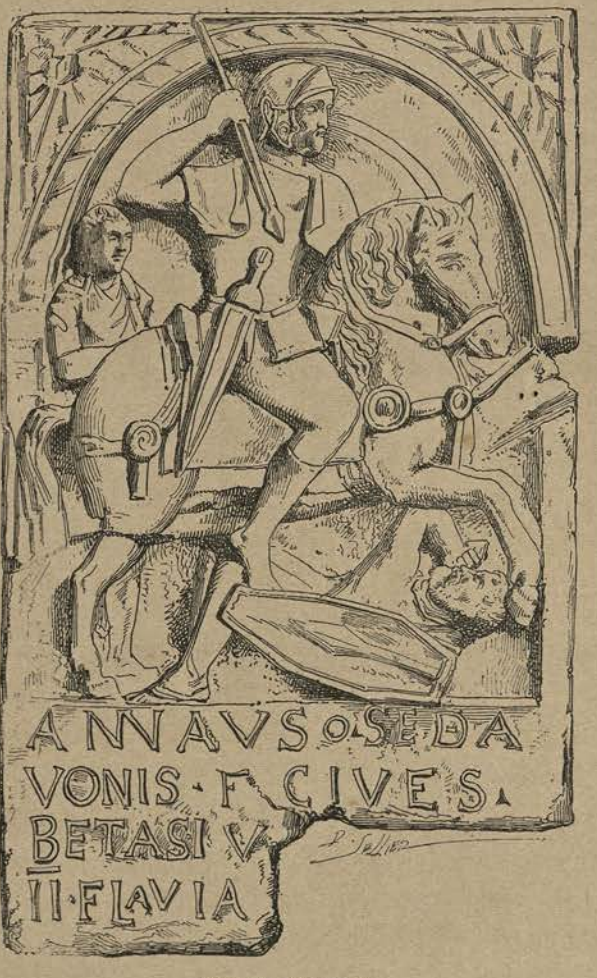
Augustus was surprised in the midst of these labours by rumours of war breaking out upon the double frontier which he believed already pacified. The Dalmatians revolted; the Dacians, crossing the Danube upon the ice, invaded the Pannonian territory; and the Catti, now in concert with the Sicambri, because the

[1] Dion, liv. 33, and Florus, iv. 12. The works upon the Meuse mentioned by Florus probably belong to a later epoch.

[2] Tac., *Germ.*, 29.

[3] A stone altar, found at Mayence in 1574, and now in the Library of Hessen Cassel.

Romans were endeavouring to compel them to change their abode, again took arms. The two sons of Livia hastened against these enemies, with whom they were already acquainted. Tiberius readily gained a victory over the Dalmatians and subdued their turbulence, compelling them to turn their activity in the direction of mining.[1] In the Danubian provinces he posted his garrisons so skilfully that peace was re-established there for fifteen years. The Roman merchants came thither in crowds, and brought with them the manners and language of Italy. "A knowledge of the discipline and even of the speech of Rome," says an eye-witness, "was spread abroad among the Pannonians; many cultivated letters and familiarized themselves with intellectual exercises."[2] Sirmium, Siscia, and Salone were the principal centres whence radiated the Roman influence.



German Auxiliary.

Drusus, on his part, was resolved to make a province of Germany also; aided by barbarian auxiliaries, he subjugated the Catti, and then falling upon the Marcomanni on the banks of

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 110.
[2] Florus, iv. 12.

the Main, he drove them eastward. This success set free the right bank of the Rhine opposite Mayence. To deal a blow at the northern tribes, as well as at those of central Germany, he traversed the country of the Cherusci as far as the Elbe, raised a trophy upon its bank, and received there the ambassadors of the Cimbri who came to beg for his friendship. The Cimbri and the Romans had met once before, upon the banks of the Po; they now met face to face again on the remotest confines of Germany: such progress had been made in a century by the arms of Rome! Drusus sent the Cimbrian deputies to his father, and imperial Rome saw these formidable enemies of the Republic bring an offering to Augustus, as to a god, of the instruments used by them in their sacrifices.[1]

Winter approaching, Drusus was returning to his head-quarters, when he received a mortal injury by the fall of his horse. Tiberius, who was then at Pavia, crossed the Alps in the greatest haste, and arrived in time to receive his brother's last embraces. This valiant prince was but thirty years of age, and his death was an irreparable misfortune to the emperor. Drusus had specially devoted himself to the conquest of Germany, a difficult task, which, had he succeeded, as perhaps he might, would have given Gaul a very needful rampart. At Rome men talked of his republican sentiments,[2] as they did of those of Marcellus and Agrippa, and, later, of Germanicus, and of all those placed by their birth beside the throne; it is the old policy, and yet for ever new, of heirs presumptive, or, as in the present case, of those who wish to make use of them. Augustus was right in relying upon the fidelity of Drusus no less than upon his ability, and even in regarding him as the protector of the children of Julia. He had caused to be erected in honour of Drusus a triumphal arch, which is yet standing in Rome at the entrance of the Appian Way. Stripped of the marble which covered it, this arch has the sad and serious aspect suited to a monument of victory which so soon became a monument of universal mourning.

In the year 8 B.C. Augustus visited Gaul a fourth time, accompanied by Caius Cæsar, the eldest of Agrippa's sons, and by

[1] Strabo, vii. 203.

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 33; ii. 41, 82; Suet., *Claud.*, 1.

Tiberius, whom he had lately compelled to marry Julia. An odious act of treachery caused the renewal of hostilities. All the German tribes with the exception of the Sicambri had sent

Arch of Drusus.[1]

ambassadors to Augustus, but using this exception as a pretext, he had refused the desired peace. Upon this the Sicambri, to avoid causing a war, followed the general example, and the emperor, as soon as he had all the chiefs of Germany in his power,

[1] From a photograph.

seized them and imprisoned them in various Gallic cities, where, from grief and shame, they ended their lives by suicide.[1] Victory was on the side of injustice; Tiberius, at the head of the legions of Drusus, conquered the Sicambri, and transplanted forty thousand barbarians into Gaul. A part of the Catti, driven from their own lands by civil war, obtained permission to establish themselves in the Insula Batavorum, on the single condition of putting their valour at the service of the Empire.[2]

Julia, daughter of Augustus.[3]

Roman policy thus filled the left bank of the Rhine with inhabitants and sought to depopulate the right bank: a useless measure, for these tribes, crowded back upon themselves, were sure soon to return to the places whence they had been driven out; a dangerous measure, moreover, for, with the establishment of the Germans in Gaul begins that system of colonization of the frontiers which was to give the barbarians the duty of guarding the gates of the Empire. The historic mission imposed upon Rome by Cæsar's conquest was to bear Roman civilization to the Rhine; in Germanizing eastern Gaul, Augustus failed in this duty, and his policy, continued by later emperors, rendered possible the

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 21; Tac., *Germ.*, 29.

[2] Dion, lv. 6.

[3] Bust in the Museum of Naples, No. 141 of the catalogue.

success of the invasions which have rendered German the Gallic bank of the great river.[1]

The victories of Tiberius seemed to have quite subjugated the Germans. Augustus decreed himself the honour of extending the pomœrium as he had enlarged the limits of the Empire (8 B.C.).[2] For the third time he closed the temple of Janus, and during twelve years these gates, whence war issued forth, were never once opened. It was amidst this silence of armies that He was born who was to reveal the glory of God in the highest, and upon earth peace, good will towards men.[3]

This universal peace was not, however, so complete that the emperor could fear for his legions the dangerous idleness of camp-life. In his anxiety to consolidate the Roman power upon the Rhine and Danube he had almost forgotten the Euphrates, when troubles in Armenia and the intervention of the Parthians in the affairs of that kingdom, which Rome was bound to protect, obliged him, if he would not see undone the work of his best years, to send his grandson Caius into the East (1 B.C.–4 A.D.). The young prince first visited Egypt, then, with a considerable army, traversed the Nabathæan country, Palestine, and Syria, and entered Armenia, where he placed upon the throne a vassal of the Empire. This was a new reconnoitring of the oriental frontiers, like that made by Augustus in the year 30 B.C., and a second time in 20, and again by Agrippa five years later. It was without serious danger, for, as the price of abandoning Armenia to the Empire, the Parthian king, son of that crafty Italian woman given by Augustus to Phraates, asked one thing only: that his

Phraataces.[4]

[1] The Germans applaud this policy; in these colonists they recognized the pioneers of future Germanic invasions. (Preuss, *Kaiser Diocletian*, p. 55.) During my term of office I made all the efforts which the law did not prohibit to replace German by French in the primary schools of the German cantons of Lorraine. Unfortunately, the local clergy believed it their interest to oppose these measures.

[2] Vell. Paterc., ii. 97; Dion, lv. 6.

[3] The date of Christ's birth is in the year of Rome 747, according to Fisher, Ideler, and Reynold; 749 according to Clinton and Zumpt. S. Luke and S. Matthew represent that Jesus was born about two years before the death of Herod, who certainly died in 750. The Christian era ought, therefore, to be set back four or five years.

[4] King Phraataces, crowned by Victory, from a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France*.

brothers be kept in Rome.[1] A few years later the incestuous and parricidal Phraataces was massacred, together with his mother, by his outraged subjects. Orodes, whom they proclaimed in his stead, soon showed himself so cruel that a fresh assassination relieved them of him, and their deputies came to Rome to seek a king. Augustus gave them Vonones. A monarchy so disturbed as this could cause him no anxiety.

In Germany the legions also scoured the country every year to show the Roman eagles to the barbarians. In the years 4 and 5 A.D. Tiberius came again to take the command during two campaigns; he again advanced by land as far as the Elbe, while a fleet came round by sea, and he established his winter quarters in the heart of Germany. This innovation was more menacing than the periodical expeditions of the legions, for from the camps Roman influence was sure to spread among the neighbouring tribes. Officers and soldiers thrown into daily relations with the barbarians would make, by the presence of civilization, a war upon their manners more dangerous to liberty than any blows struck upon the field of battle. Already many of their chiefs have made the journey to Rome, there to learn gentler manners and to receive the gold ring of the equestrian order. Some of their most conspicuous men have become completely Romanized, and Germany has entered on the path where Gallic nationality was lost. Will she pause in time? "It is already a province," writes a historian [Velleius] who served at that time in the legions of Tiberius.

Vonones, or Arsaces XVIII. (Silver coin.)

While this work was going forward in the north, between the Rhine and Elbe, a great barbaric kingdom was rising in the south very near the Roman out-posts. One of the Marcomanni, Maroboduus (Marbod), who had been attracted to Rome like so many other Germans, had been much impressed with that skilful organization where all things were so admirably disposed to secure

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3. According to S. Martin, Phraates was yet alive, but Phraataces, the son of Thermusa, had assumed the title of king. The young prince murdered his father in the year 9 A.D. As the subject of Judæa will occupy our attention later I have merely indicated that this province was reduced in the year 6.

power. He had profited by the lesson, and, returning home with the authority of a man who had seen great things and can also accomplish them, he seized the command; withdrawing his people from the banks of the Main, where he had suffered a defeat, he established them in Bohemia, a fortress, with its rampart of mountains, in the heart of the barbarian world. The Elbe, breaking its way through on the north, opened to him a gate in the direction of those countries where the legions had just established themselves; while from the tops of mountains descending to the waters of the Danube he could hear the war-cry of the Pannonians and behold the icy peaks of the Alps. Against his own people, who had proclaimed him king, Marbod had surrounded himself with a guard and had built for his residence a strong citadel, Marobudum (Budweis?); and against the neighbouring tribes he had, aided by numerous deserters from the Roman army, disciplined 70,000 foot soldiers and 4,000 cavalry, whom he exercised in continual engagements. Nearly all the Suevi had gathered around this chief who had so gloriously revived their ancient renown, and the Senones and even the Lombards recognized his supremacy.

The Young Tiberius in Military Costume (Museum of Turin).

Augustus was alarmed at this power, which Tiberius publicly

in the senate declared more threatening to Rome than had been either Pyrrhus or Antiochus, and he resolved to crush it before it reached its height. A formidable army of six legions, collected upon the Danube, was held in readiness to cross the river and attack Bohemia from the south, while the lieutenant in command in Upper Germany, making his way through the Hercynian forest with an equal force, should attack from the west. Tiberius had already arrived at Carnuntum, the Roman depôt in these regions, when a fearful insurrection broke out in his rear; it was the revolt of the Pannonians and Dalmatians, who, believing the legions already engaged with the Marcomanni, again rushed to arms. Rome escaped from this peril through the same fault which invariably ruined her enemies: Marbod consented to negotiate, and Tiberius was at liberty to turn his strength against the rebels (6 A.D.).

Their plan had been, however, well constructed. All the Roman troops in camp in their country had gone to join Tiberius; had they waited but a month longer the war with Marbod would have left not a soldier between the Danube and the Alps, that is to say, Italy would have been open to them. But they were anxious to prevent the departure of the auxiliary corps which they had been compelled to furnish, which, in the Roman camp, would have been so many hostages for the good behaviour of the nations whence they came. The first blows of the revolt were directed against the centres of Roman influence and power. The Pannonians fell upon Sirmium, the Dalmatians upon Salone; 800,000 men, the report said at Rome, were in arms, and skilful leaders directed the movement. They formed three corps: the first was left in charge of the country, the second invaded Macedon, the third was directed against Nauportus, which defended the entrance into Italy by way of the Julian Alps. Augustus was filled with alarm at this peril. "In ten days," he said to the senators, "the enemy may be under the walls of Rome;" and his fears were not exaggerated, for Italy was destitute of soldiers. A scarcity of food supervened, which soon became actual famine, and the emperor was forced to require all strangers to leave Rome. The Sardinians revolted, the Gætuli refused obedience to Juba, the mountaineers fo Isauria desolated the adjacent provinces, and brigandage sprung

up everywhere.[1] The work of thirty years was shaken; the days of gloom had begun.

Prompt and energetic measures were taken. Levies were at once made, and the veterans and five legions that were out of the country were recalled. The knights and senators offered regular contributions for the whole duration of hostilities, and the rich, according to their wealth, furnished soldiers, one or more, from among their slaves, with six months' provisions. The shame of this desperate resource was concealed by giving them liberty together with their weapons. Tiberius employed the first year entirely in the defence of Italy; he established himself strongly at Siscia; where he barred the valley of the Save and waited for the legions from Asia, accompanied by auxiliaries from the Thracian Rhœmetalces, to make an important diversion by way of Mœsia. But the governor of this province failed in an attack upon the entrenchments of Mount Almus, and the Dacians, improving their opportunity, fell upon Mœsia, when he was obliged to return thither promptly. From the Danube to the very centre of Macedon bands of insurgents had free range throughout the country.

Augustus organized new measures: in the spring of the year 7 A.D. he dispatched to Tiberius his nephew Germanicus with a second army. Fifteen legions, that is to say, the most considerable force that had been seen together since the civil wars, were united. But this country, cut by rivers and by mountain chains, was admirably adapted for guerilla warfare, and a year went by without bringing results; the Romans had nothing to boast of save a success of Germanicus against the Dalmatians, and one victory which came near costing them five legions. Augustus, growing constantly more anxious, went, notwithstanding his seventy years, as far as Ariminum in order to be nearer the theatre of events. Unfortunately, these nations, who so gallantly stood against 200,000 Romans, had not reckoned on an enemy even more formidable than the legions—famine; the uncultivated fields produced no harvests, and a frightful mortality, caused by insufficient food, ravaged their ranks. Without having been conquered they submitted,[2] not

[1] Dion, lv. 28. He speaks (lvi. 43) of a Spanish brigand so much dreaded that Augustus offered a reward of 250,000 drachmas to any person delivering him up to justice.

[2] In Dalmatia resistance still continued at many points during the years 8 and 9.

surrendering their weapons, but letting them fall from their hands. "Why have you caused this revolt?" Tiberius asked of Bato, the Dalmatian chief. "Why do you send wolves to guard your flocks instead of dogs and shepherds?" was the bold reply; and the future emperor remembered the answer.

In order to smother beneath ruins the last sparks of the fire the country of Pannonia was subjected to a systematic devastation, and this savage execution was called "pacifying" the country. Many bands encamped in the mountains which separate Dalmatia from Pannonia, and remained there for a long time independent, or, in the language of Rome, brigands. The rest built up their cabins again, began to cultivate their fields, to refine their modes of living, and not being able to be free strove to make themselves Roman;[1] and Tiberius returned in triumph to Rome.

Thus war was at last banished from the regions occupied by industrious populations; and there was heard no longer, even upon the frontiers, the roaring of that stormy sea which still continued to break against the outposts of the Empire. The Roman people, intoxicated with their own grandeur, celebrated their apotheosis under the name of their city, and received from their poets the promise of limitless power and endless duration:

> *His ego nec metas rerum nec tempora pono:*
> *Imperium sine fine dedi.*[2]

In the midst of this prosperity suddenly came the melancholy cry, presage of the future: Varus is dead!

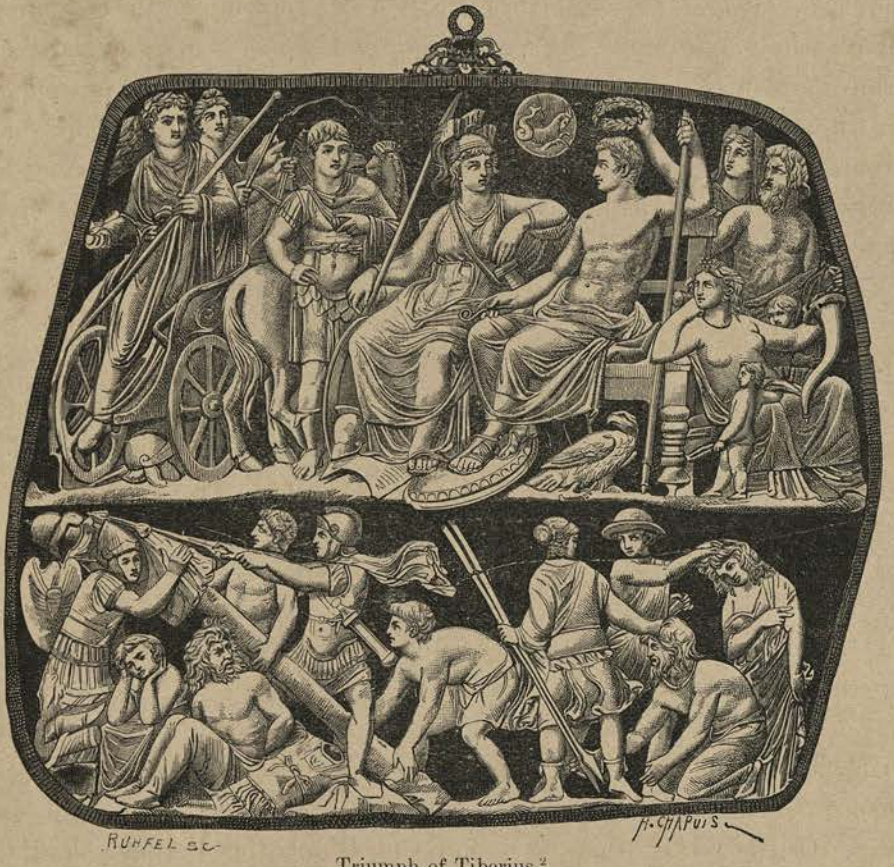
The Romans had not forgotten in Germany their wonted prudence. The hereditary enmities of the different tribes had been turned to good account. All the dwellers along the coast had been received into alliance; upon the Rhine the Usipetes and the Tencteri were subjected; 40,000 Sicambri had been transported into Gaul, and the friendship of the Bructeri was believed to be secure. Fortified posts, resting upon the great fortress of Aliso at the sources of the Lippe, kept watch over the country; and at Cologne, as at Lyons, an altar had been erected at which the

Germanicus was in command there, and Augustus sent Tiberius thither in the year 9 A.D. (Dion, lvi. 11–16.)

[1] Upon this war, Dion, lv. 29, 33, and Velleius Paterculus, who took part in it, ii. 110–14.

[2] Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 278–279.

Germans were the priests and Rome was the divinity.[1] Here and there were formed some settlements to which the barbarians brought their rude productions, and began to learn Roman manners and customs. Their chiefs, attracted into the service, went to shed their blood for Rome; then returning to their tribes, with golden collars and weapons bestowed as tokens of honour, the reward of their valour, never ceased to relate the marvels that they had seen: to



Triumph of Tiberius.[2]

tell of Italy, where cities were as numerous as cabins with them; of Rome, populous as a world; and of those masters of the Empire who were worshipped like gods, because they had the power of gods. These accounts impressed the imagination of the barbarians,

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 57, *Ara Ubiorum*.

[2] Museum of Vienna. A magnificent cameo, called *gemma Augustalis*, representing the triumph of Tiberius over the Pannonians. Their chief, Bato, who for seven years resisted Tiberius, is represented chained and crouching beneath the trophy. He wears trousers, like the inhabitants of Gallia Braccata; on the neck of the second prisoner is seen the Gallic torc.

and the divinity of Augustus appeared much more certain on the banks of the Weser than by the Tiber. "One day," says Velleius Paterculus, "we were encamped on the bank of the Elbe, the barbarians being on the opposite side. Suddenly one of their chiefs, an old man of majestic stature, unmoored a little boat, and advancing as far as the middle of the river called out that he desired to see Cæsar. His request being granted, he came across and landed; having surveyed Tiberius for a long time silently, 'Our warriors are mad,' he said; 'from a distance they honour you as gods, but close at hand they fear to confide in your good faith. For my part, I am grateful to you, O Cæsar, for the favour you have granted me. The gods whom hitherto I knew only by their renown, I have to-day looked upon; and it is the happiest day of my life.' He obtained permission to touch the general's hand, then, re-entering his boat, he returned across the river, his eyes fixed upon Cæsar until he had rejoined his companions on the opposite shore."[1]

Time being left to do its work, the charm was sure to have its effect upon these simple people, impressed by grandeur of every kind. But the attempt was made to hasten their conversion, and violence recalled these children to the consciousness that they were men.

The position taken by Marbod and the revolt of the Pannonians had decided Augustus to hasten the work of transformation in Germany. Varus, formerly governor of Syria, was sent across the Rhine with this mission. A stern man, and habituated to the servile docility of the eastern nations,[2] Varus could not understand that it might be necessary to proceed cautiously. In the utmost confidence he published his edict, and went among the astonished barbarians to establish his tribunal, to call the cases before him, and to pass sentence in the name of laws which had been made upon the shore of the Tiber. The Germans had been accustomed themselves to revenge the injuries done them; Varus now reserved to himself the right of inflicting punishment. This interference in their affairs of men of the law, this talkative justice, these battles of words, always obscure to them and sometimes offensive,

[1] Vell. Paterc., ii. 109.

[2] Strabo, vii. 290; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 45. Some disturbances having broken out in Judæa, he had caused to be crucified along the highways 2,000 prisoners. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 10.)

exasperated these men whose judicial customs were shorter and simpler, because they took for granted that the truth would be told under oath; more solemn also, because both in action and symbols they made every case a drama, where the guilty person, the one who had been injured, and the whole assembly of the people each played an important part. If a murder had been committed—a man found dead lying on the open ground, a rope was put about the neck of the corpse and it was interred. After some days the body was exhumed, and all the men of the district, approaching in their turn, took hold of the rope and dragged the corpse along the ground. To the guilty man this was a most trying ordeal, for it was believed that the murdered man would point out his slayer, the blood starting from the wounds at the instant he laid hands upon the rope. The Germanic law had no corporal penalties, nor did it give life for life. Only the priest, acting in the name of Heaven, could smite a German, and only cowards and traitors were liable to the punishment of death; also sentence from the general assembly was required. In the case of murder a fine was the penalty. If, however (the Salic law provided), the murderer was too poor, and his own kindred could not or would not aid him, a dozen witnesses swore in his behalf that neither upon the ground nor under it had he more property than what he offered. Upon this he returned into his house, took up dust from the four corners, then standing on the threshold he threw with his left hand the dust upon his nearest relatives. Finally, in his shirt, without shoes or girdle, and carrying a staff in his hand, he strode over the threshold of his cabin and over the hedge surrounding his field; he was *vargus*, an outlaw from that day forth—the interminable forest, the boundless ocean was his domain.[1]

But this outlaw was now arrested by Roman lictors, scourged with rods, smitten with the axe, him whom the gods alone could smite! For smaller offences there were endless pleadings. In vain the barbarian offered to decide it all by an oath; Varus would have investigations, witnesses, discussion of facts and points of law. Need we wonder that at the contact of these two social systems

[1] Upon this procedure see Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, but, I fear, it is of comparatively recent epoch.

the Roman genius and the barbarian genius felt themselves hostile to each other for ever? "Hiss now, viper!" cried the victorious German to the captive lawyers after having cut out their tongues and sewed up their mouths. Hatred so ferocious as this gives us the starting point of the revolt.

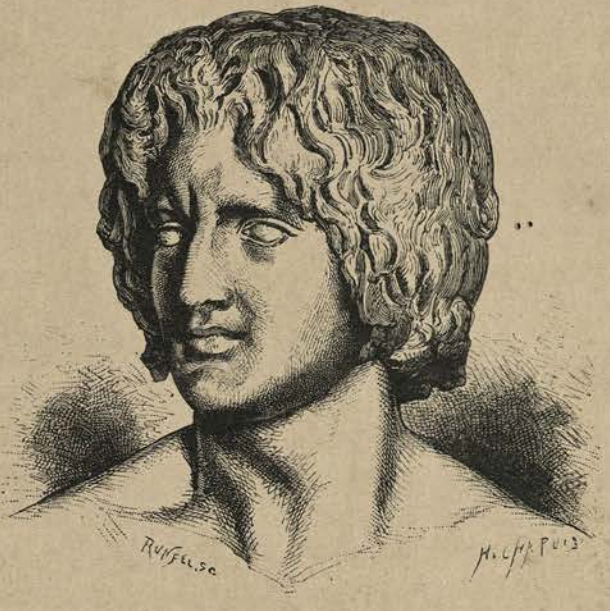
The German nobles put themselves at the head of the movement, and a young chief of the Cherusci, Arminius,[1] son of Sigimer, was the soul of the conspiracy. Given up to the Romans as a hostage, he had found favour in their sight, and had received the gold ring and the command of a troop of German auxiliaries. But he was the hereditary enemy of another chief of the Cherusci, Segestes, and he satisfied at the same time his hatred of the latter and his passion for the beautiful daughter of Segestes by carrying off the girl, Thusnelda. It was a mortal offence, and the father, a friend of the Romans, resolved to obtain vengeance from Varus at some time. Arminius, thus personally endangered, felt more acutely the wrongs done to his countrymen. He called together the principal chiefs of the Catti, Cherusci, Marsi, and Bructeri, and in secret meetings arranged with them the plan of a general insurrection. In vain did Segestes warn

German Woman, called Thusnelda.[2]

[1] [The favourite German identification of this name with Hermann is very doubtful.—*Ed.*]

[2] Museum of Florence (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 51).

Varus: "Have us arrested," he said, "and without us the people will dare to attempt nothing. Later you will learn the truth." Varus still was confident. Meanwhile news was brought him that a remote tribe had revolted. It was a snare to draw him out of his camp and far away from his fortified positions. The chiefs who were about him offered to guide his march; they led him astray, and then making their escape under the pretext of going to seek aid for him among their own people, they placed themselves at the head of the approaching bands. A son of Segestes, although a priest of Rome and of Augustus at the altar of the Ubii, joined his brothers in the revolt.



German, called Arminius.[1]

Embarrassed with an enormous quantity of baggage, the three legions advanced with difficulty in a long line through dense, damp forests, without taking any precautions and as if in the midst of peace. First some bands of barbarians appeared, then their number increased till the forest seemed alive with them: the army was entirely surrounded. Varus, however, was able to gain the open country, where he encamped, and the following day he destroyed his baggage and made a desperate effort to reach the fortress of Aliso. His road lay over the wooded heights of Osning (*Saltus Teutoburgensis*), between the head waters of the Ems and the Lippe, and across the marshy lands which lay below them. Making their way through these difficult paths, harassed incessantly by the Germans, the confused crowd of infantry and cavalry struggled on, leaving tracks with blood; and when they encamped on the

[1] Museum of the Capitol (L. Stracke, *op. cit.*, p. 49).

second night the space needed for their entrenchments was but half of what it had been the night before. In the morning heavy rain added to their difficulties and slackened their march, while their enemies were more numerous and savage than ever, knowing well that the day's events would either deliver the Roman eagles into their power or would place what remained of the legions in safety within the fortress. Coming down from the hilly route they had followed, the Romans found themselves in a marshy plain where Arminius had gathered the bulk of his forces. Here the final struggle took place. A few horsemen escaped to Aliso, and all the rest perished. Varus, to avoid falling alive into the enemy's hands, fell upon his sword. The tribunes and centurions were hung to trees, and the Roman lawyers who accompanied Varus put to death with frightful tortures, and if a few prisoners were spared it was but to add to the disgrace of Rome. A man of the Catti or the Cherusci could now show among his slaves some Roman knight or candidate for the senatorial honours (September, 9 A.D.).[1]

Five days after the definitive submission of the Pannonians and Dalmatians news of the disaster of Varus was received at Rome. The Germanic nationality rose victorious and menacing just as the last nationality which could offer resistance in the interior of the Empire had given way; it arose to say on the banks of the Rhine what the Parthians on the banks of the Euphrates had said to that great power which for three centuries had been advancing steadily: "Thus far, and no farther."

Arminius, meanwhile, was following up his victory. He captured all the forts that Rome had built, even Aliso; and from the Rhine to the Weser all Germany became free once more. He had caused the head of Varus to be cut off, and had sent that bloody trophy to Marbod, the king of the Marcomanni. Let

[1] Seneca, *Epist.*, 47: *Multos splendidissime natos, senatorium per militiam auspicantes gradum.* (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 27.) Forty years later there were still Roman prisoners among the Catti. (Cf. Dion, lvi. 19–21; Vell. Paterc., ii. 118–19; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 55, 57, 61.) The three legions destroyed were the 17th, 18th, and 19th; and these numbers, considered henceforth inauspicious, were never used again in the Roman army. Much has been written on the subject of the battle-field. By a commemorative monument erected in 1867 on the summit of Mount Teutburg, the Germans have located the last act of this tragedy in the neighbourhood of Detmold.

now this great chief, lately the terror of Rome, unite with the confederation of the northern tribes; let him, repairing the mistake of three years before at the time of the Pannonian revolt, now cross the Danube, while the liberator of Germany fell upon Gaul, and the Empire will have good reason to tremble. Augustus, who already seemed to hear them advancing over the Alps, cried in terror: "Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!" for soldiers were lacking. Alarmed by this war, exhausted by recent levies, the people refused to be enrolled. It was in vain that Augustus branded with infamy and confiscation one man in every five under thirty-five years of age and one in every ten of those older, nothing but the threat of execution could drag these degenerate Romans into camp.[2]

Germanicus.[1]

Fortunately for Rome, Marbod was jealous of Arminius's fame, and instead of responding to his patriotic appeal he sent the head of Varus to the emperor. Secure upon this side, Tiberius was able to hasten to the Gallic frontier, fortify all the posts, re-establish discipline, expel luxury and indolence from the camps, and even risk the eagles again across the Rhine. Germanicus, as his successor, remained at the head of the eight legions protecting the left bank of the river. Content with having been victorious, the enemy never passed from resistance to attack. The Empire was saved, but the glory of a long reign had been tarnished and fifty years were to pass before the generals of Rome should bring back into the temple of Mars the Avenger the last of the three eagles of Varus, while it was amid the sounds of reviving war that he descended to the tomb who had reduced the art of reigning to an art of introducing peace and happiness throughout the world.

[1] The legend recalls that this was the adopted son of Tiberius (TIberii AVGusti Filius) and grandson of the divine Augustus (DIVI AVG Nepos). Bronze coin.

[2] Dion, lvi. 23.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE

OF THE FAMILY OF AUGUSTUS.

Cn. Octavius, prætor in 61, marries

Atia, daughter of Atius Balbus and of Julia, sister of C. JULIUS CÆSAR.

1. Octavia marries
1. C. Marcellus. 2. Marcus Antonius.

- 1. Antonia *major*, who marries Dom. Ahenob.
  - Messalina.
- 2. Antonia *minor*, who marries Drusus, father of Germanicus.
- 3. Domitius, who marries Agrippina.
  - Cl. Nero.

2. C. JULIUS CÆSAR OCTAVIANUS AUGUSTUS.
1. Clodia. 2. Scribonia. 3. Livia, divorced wife of Tib. Claudius Nero.

- Julia marries
  1. Marcellus. 2. M. Vips. Agrippa. 3. TIBERIUS, son of Livia.
  - Children of Julia and Agrippa.
- TIBERIUS marries Vipsania.
  - Drusus marries Livilla.
    - Julia, Tiberius.
- Drusus *senior*, marries Antonia.
  - 1. Livilla, wife of Drusus.
  - 2. Germanicus marries Agrippina.
  - 3. CLAUDIUS marries Messalina.
    - Octavia.
    - Britannicus.

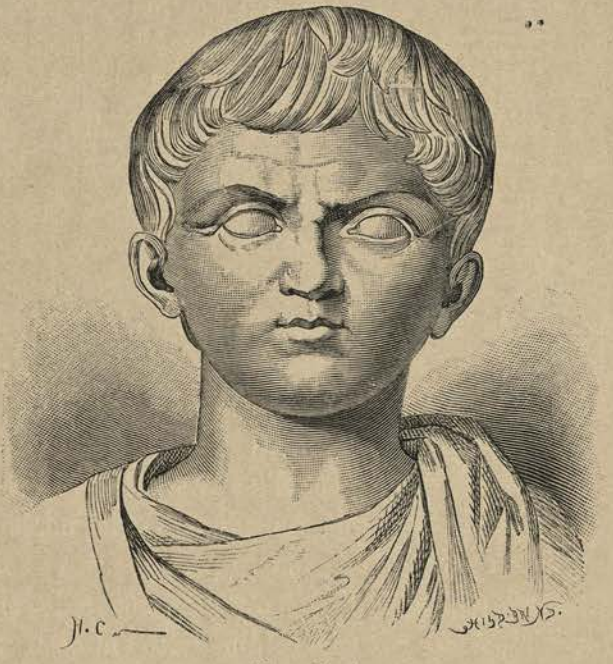
- 1. C. Cæsar marries Livia, sister of Germanicus.
- 2. L. Cæsar betrothed to Æmilia Lepida.
- 3. Julia marries L. Æmilius Paulus.
  - 1. M. Æmilius Lepidus marries Drusilla, dau. of Germanicus.
  - 2. Æm. Lepida marries
    1. Ap. Jun. Silanus. 2. Drusus, son of Tiberius.
    - Children of Drusus and Lepida.
      - 1. L. Silanus.
      - 2. M. Silanus.
      - 3. Junia Calvina.
- 4. Agrippina marries Germanicus, grandson of the Emp. Livia.
  - 1. Nero marries Julia, daughter of Drusus *junior*, the son of Tiberius.
  - 2. Drusus marries Æm. Lepida.
  - 3. CALIGULA, emperor.
  - 4. Agrippina marries Cn. Domitius.
    - NERO, emperor.
- 5. Agrippa Postumus.
- 5. Drusilla marries
  1. L. Cassius.
  2. M. Æm. Lepidus.
- 6. Livia or Livilla marries
  1. M. Vinicius.
  2. Quintilius Varus (?)

CHAPTER LXIX.

THE LAST YEARS OF AUGUSTUS AND THE SUCCESSION TO THE EMPIRE.

I.—The Imperial Family.

LIKE Louis XIV., Augustus ended his reign in mourning and solitude: it is the fate of lives that have been too long. He had seen die, one after another, all those who were bound to him by ties of blood, friendship, or a common glory, all who were the support or the honour of his administration: his sister Octavia (11 B.C.); Marcellus, his nephew and son-in-law (23 B.C.); Virgil (19), Agrippa (12), Drusus (9), Mæcenas and Horace (8). Eight years before the commencement of the Christian era there remained to him only the children born of the second marriage of his daughter Julia with Agrippa, and the children of Drusus and Tiberius.



Marcellus.[1]

The emperor was much attached to his grand-children. The

[1] Bust found at Otricoli with an Augustus and a Livia. (Vatican, Gallery of the Candelabra, No. 208.)

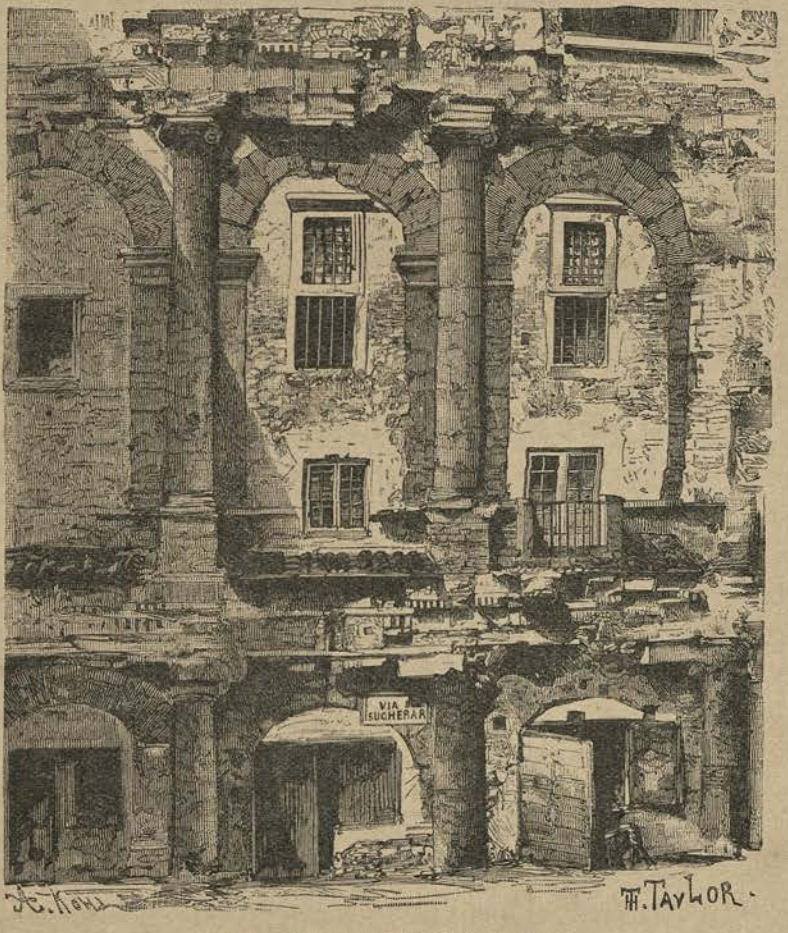
care that he bestowed upon their education and the early honours lavished upon them revealed his intentions concerning them. For them he intended the succession to his power. This very serious question had not been openly discussed; the imperial government having been founded, however, by the concentration of all authority in the hands of one man, it was essential to designate in advance who should inherit it: for so vast an Empire, which had laws but not institutions, inhabitants but not citizens, municipal customs and no patriotism outside of the city, could not be left to fall periodically into the uncertainties and tumults of an election. Augustus perfectly comprehended this necessity, but the assumed disinterestedness of his whole life prevented him from openly decreeing hereditary succession, and his mind was neither liberal enough nor strong enough to find out and establish any other system. Faithful to his temporizing habits, he waited for events, regulating his conduct by them rather than dominating them. No one was willing to look forward to minorities or to the extinction of the imperial family, nor even so far as the illness or death of the first emperor. Everything was left to accident, to the Fortune of the Day, that great divinity of the Romans and of their chief. This was an error which for three centuries weighed upon the Empire, and we may hold Augustus responsible for it, since it is certain that, in the second half of his reign, he was sure enough of the docility of the Romans to have laid aside all hypocritical precautions.

That which he dared not establish as a matter of law, he strove, however, to found as a matter of fact. Like Julius Cæsar, he had no sons, but he adopted his nephew Marcellus; and, on the death of this young prince, gave his widow, Julia, in marriage to Agrippa. To take this old soldier as his son-in-law was almost to associate him with himself in the imperial power and a second time designate a successor. This idea Augustus confirmed in the minds of the Romans by sharing the tribunitian power[1] with Agrippa in the year 19 B.C., and later, by adopting Caius and Lucius Cæsar, the two sons of Julia and Agrippa.

The death of Agrippa having brought the matter once more

[1] *Agrippam socium ejus potestatis . . . . delegit, ne successor in incerto foret* (Tac., *Ann.*, iii., 56.) Caius was born in the year 20 B.C. and Lucius in 17.

in question, Augustus decided to make a great position both in the government and in his own family for Livia's son Tiberius. The latter was compelled to marry the widow of Agrippa and of Marcellus, divorcing his wife Vipsania, whom he loved, and who had already borne him one son and was at the time pregnant.



Remains of the Theatre of Marcellus.[1]

The emperor trusted that the gratified ambition of Tiberius would leave to the sons of Julia the time to grow older and approach gradually to the power he destined for them. As soon as they were past their childhood he began to employ for them the same system which had been so serviceable to himself, that of appointing

[1] Julius Cæsar commenced this edifice, to which Augustus gave his nephew's name. (Dion, liii. 30.) Near this theatre is Octavia's portico.

them to republican magistracies. At the age of fourteen Lucius was augur, and Caius, three years older, held a priesthood, the right of entrance into the senate, the right of wearing the laticlave at games and public festivals, and sitting among the senators; both were also designated as consuls, to enter upon office on attaining their twentieth year. Meantime they took the title of *principes juventutis*. Neither in the senate nor in the city did any man make objection to all this: more would have been accepted if Augustus had dared to do more; only in the imperial family was there dissatisfaction. In spite of his deep dissimulation, Tiberius could not see without jealousy that less was granted to his long services than to the birth of these two boys, who, moreover, showed no consideration for him. Spoiled by premature honours and adulation, they lived in debauchery, with the presumption of their age and the arrogance of their fortune; and they did not conceal their discontent when Augustus, in the hope of putting some restraint upon their turbulent ambition, gave to Tiberius the tribunitian power for five years. It did not require much clear-sightedness for a man, already inclined to have more than enough of that quality, to foresee in these two youths bitter and implacable enemies. The debauchery of his wife Julia weighed heavily upon the pride of him who was chief of the noblest of all the Roman houses. He could not repudiate the emperor's daughter, and he saw himself deprived of the hoped-for recompense of this hated marriage. With the habitual decision and tenacity of the Claudii he resolved to quit the court, Rome, Italy even, and go to live in retirement in the East. This withdrawal was a kind of public indictment of the paternal weaknesses of Augustus. The emperor so understood it, and ordered Livia to prevent her son's departure; he even went so far as to complain in the senate of being deserted. All was in vain; rather than yield Tiberius declared that he would starve himself to death; and, in fact, remained some days without food. When finally Augustus had authorized his journey he departed quietly, making no complaint and offering no explanation, and took up his residence in Rhodes. Such had been Agrippa's course at the time of the elevation of Marcellus. Tiberius believed himself to be of no less consequence than Agrippa, and

looked for a similar recall and to find himself raised to a perfect equality with the young Cæsars. Augustus, keenly wounded, took him at his word concerning his disgust for public life, feigned to forget him at Rhodes, and left him there seven years. By this exile the emperor found himself relieved from the constraint imposed upon his natural affections by the presence of this son of Livia. Now, however, he was smitten through all his own family, as if the genius of evil hovered over his house, casting disgrace and death upon it. First of all, Julia abandoned herself to the most scandalous excesses. For a long time this was carefully concealed from the emperor, that impunity might drag his daughter on into irremediable misconduct; and when finally they told him all, the father could not draw back, the reformer of morals was compelled to punish. Julia was exiled to the island of Pandataria, and Augustus, punishing her even in death, forbade her remains to be laid in the imperial tomb. Julia's mother, Scribonia, voluntarily shared the daughter's exile, perhaps a protest against an unnecessary exposure and too severe a penalty. (2 B.C.).[2]

Julia, daughter of Augustus.[1]

Livia may have hoped that the children of Julia would share in the disgrace of their mother. This expectation, if it was entertained by her, proved fallacious. The emperor, anxious to show to the people and the legions the heir of his power, invested Caius Cæsar with proconsular authority over all the East, and sent him with a great retinue into those provinces

[1] Julia, wearing a wreath of wheat-ears and poppies, holding in her right hand a poppy. Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, 201.

[2] Many noble personages, her accomplices, were punished with her. (Suet., *Octav.*, 64, 5; Dion, lv. 10 and 13.)

where brilliant reputations were so quickly obtained. Surrounded by a court composed of vassal kings, on the first day of January in the year 1 A.D. the young prince took possession at Antioch of the consulate. Not long after disturbances in Armenia furnished him the occasion for some easy successes and the honour of disposing of a crown: he gave the kingdom to the Median Ariobarzanes. Tiberius perceived that he had taken the wrong road: he was forgotten at Rome and in Asia he was menaced. One of the flatterers of Caius had proposed to the young prince during a banquet to set out forthwith for Rhodes and bring him back the exile's head. A residence in Rhodes was becoming more dangerous than one upon the Palatine, where, at least, his mother could protect him. Humble submission to Caius and the emperor brought him leave to return to Rome, on condition that he should in no way occupy himself with public affairs. The course of events, however, quickly brought him again into power.

Germanicus, son of Drusus.[1]

During an expedition in Armenia, Caius, while listening to the governor of the city of Artagira, who pretended to have important secrets to reveal to the young prince, was stabbed by the traitor; the wound did not seem mortal, but the weapon was doubtless poisoned. An incurable melancholy seized upon Caius, he lingered for a time, and finally died in Cilicia

[1] Bust in the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 9.

(4 A.D.).[1] Eighteen months earlier, his brother Lucius, sent by Augustus to the Spanish legions, died at Marseilles (20th April, 2 A.D.). This double calamity, caused probably by the precocious excesses of the two young men, seemed unnatural, although no proof of crime could be found; and, as always happens, many voices accused those to whom it gave the Empire.[2]

One son of Julia yet survived, Agrippa Postumus. But he was only sixteen years of age, and Augustus, who felt the burden of years weighing heavily upon him, considered it a duty to sacrifice to the State his personal preferences: he adopted at the same time Agrippa and Tiberius. "I do it," he said, perhaps with secret bitterness, "for the good of the State."[3] And he obliged Tiberius, although the latter had children of his own, to adopt his nephew Germanicus, upon whom Augustus bestowed the affection he had formerly felt for Drusus, the young man's father (4 A.D.).

Agrippa Postumus.

II.—Tiberius associated in the Government (4 A.D.); Death of Augustus (14).

The succession, which had already rested upon so many heads, was therefore again fixed. For, notwithstanding the official falsehood of senatorial and popular rights, and the decennial prorogation of the imperial powers, the idea of hereditary succession was accepted in advance. A conspiracy, however, came very near overthrowing the emperor and the inheritance. Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, conceived the design of assassinating the emperor during a sacrifice. The plot being discovered, Augustus would have punished, but Livia counselled the placing of clemency

[1] Orelli-Henzen, No. 5370: . . . . *in Armenia percussus.* Dion represents Caius as of feeble intellect and poor health: . . . . μηδὲ ὑγιεινὸς ἦν ὑφ' οὗπερ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἐξελέλυτο, πολλῷ μᾶλλον ἀπημβλύνθη (lv. 12). Velleius Paterculus (ii. 102) says the same.

[2] Tacitus contents himself with saying (and, as usual, slips in a suspicion): *Mors fato propera, vel novercæ Liviæ dolus abstulit* (*Ann.*, i. 3). It is strange he did not add that Sejanus was one of the intimates of Caius Cæsar. (*Ann.*, iv. 1.) Lucius was patron of Pisa, Caius of Nîmes. (Wilmanns, 883.) It was in honour of Caius that the little temple called the *Maison Carrée* was erected at Nîmes.

[3] Suet., *Tiber.*, 23.

as a bar between himself and further attempts of the same nature. The emperor sent for Cinna, revealed to him his plans, named to him his accomplices, and overwhelmed him with an unexpected pardon, the year after giving him the consulate.[1]

The difficulties concerning the succession to the Empire were not ended so long as there remained two claimants. Agrippa had the same rights as Tiberius. But the former was the heir to his mother's vices, and he shared the same fate. Augustus cancelled his adoption, and exiled him at first to Sorrento and later to the island of Planasia. No man pitied him, for in that refined court the grossness of his mind and manners had, far more than his debauchery, excited the public disgust (7 A.D.).[2] Augustus had not yet seen the last of his domestic misfortunes: a year later the younger Julia, accused of the same crimes as her mother, was, like her, confined upon an island in the Adriatic, where she remained twenty years until her death (28 A.D.), and where her ashes remained, exiled from the tomb of the Cæsars. Augustus, with a cruel abuse of his paternal authority, forbade her infant child to be reared: and the old emperor, the pitiless judge of his own family, found himself in his desolated house alone with Livia and her son.

About this time Ovid, the favourite poet of the fashionable society of his time, received an order to quit Italy and even the Empire, being exiled to its extreme frontier [Tomi], near the mouths of the Danube, in the pestilential regions of the Dobrutcha. We shall add no conjecture to the many which have been already made concerning this mysterious affair,[3] and shall only call attention to the fact that, at the mere will of the ruler, without public judgment or decree of the senate, a Roman citizen, even of equestrian rank, could be deprived of his liberty, in reality of his fortune and his rights, although the *relegatio*

[1] Seneca, *de Clem.*, i. 9, 10, and Corneille. There was, however, one more conspiracy after this, that of Paulus and Rufus. Their fate is not known.

[2] *Rudem sane bonarum artium et robore corporis stolide ferocem.* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 3); Vell. Paterc. (ii. 112) and Suet. (*Octav.*, 65) say the same.

[3] The exile of Ovid was decreed in the same year with that of Julia *minor* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 71; 8 A.D.), whence we may conclude, not without some reason, that the poet shared in the misconduct of her of whom he sang, it is believed, under the name of Corinna. The ruler, who never pardoned his grand-daughter, also never forgave him who may have been her accomplice.

Bridge at Sorrento.

implied neither the confiscation of the one nor the suppression of the others; and that no one, not even the sufferer, protested in the name of the laws. Ovid died at Tomi (Kustendjé), surviving Augustus only three years.[1]

The services which Tiberius rendered to the Empire in the terrible years when Marbod was threatening, Pannonia in revolt, and 30,000 Roman soldiers were slaughtered in Germany, obliterated the previous sentiments of the ruler, and in the year 13, Augustus, feeling his end approaching, took Tiberius as his colleague. In virtue of a senatus-consultum and a law of the centuriæ, he shared with his newly-appointed colleague the tribunitian power, the proconsular authority in the provinces, the command of the armies, and the right of making the census. In closing the lustrum, he would have Tiberius offer the customary vows for the prosperity of the Empire. "It is not fitting," he said, "that I should offer vows whose fulfilment I shall not see." It was not that any evil menaced him; he had always one of those delicate constitutions with which men live to the age of Nestor. But his physical system was exhausted and his life was drawing to a close. Tiberius departing about this time for Illyria, the emperor decided to accompany him as far as Beneventum to escape from the fatigues of Rome and of public affairs. He went by land to Astura, where he embarked and slowly sailed along the beautiful shores of Campania and the adjacent islands, happy in his idleness, making epigrams and bad verses, amusing himself with watching the sports of the sailors or the athletic contests of the Greek lads of Capri, rewarding them by a banquet where they were permitted to pillage the dessert. From Beneventum he returned to Nola; here he was taken ill, and

[1] Ovid himself (*Trist.*, V. xi, 15, 18) gives the exact import of the *relegatio*, by saying of the emperor:

Nec vitam, nec opes, nec jus mihi civis ademit.....
Nil nisi me patriis jussit abesse focis.

In respect to the *deportatio* which, under the Empire, took the place of the *interdictio aquæ et ignis*, it was thus regulated by Augustus. "He forbade those to whom fire and water had been interdicted to reside upon the continent or upon any island within 400 stadia of the main land, with the exception of Cos, Rhodes, Lesbos, and Sardinia. They could not change their domicile, could not own more than one transport vessel of 1,000 amphoræ burden nor more than two vessels propelled by oars; nor could have more than twenty slaves or freedmen; nor could retain more than a fortune of 185,000 drachmas." (Dion, lvi. 27.) The person thus exiled being civilly dead could neither inherit nor will property.

believing the end near, he sent for Tiberius to return and passed a long time in conversation with him. "The day he died he asked frequently whether his condition was causing any tumult in Rome; and having called for a mirror, he had his hair arranged. When some of his friends entered the room he said to them: 'Do you find that I have played well this comedy of life?' and he added in Greek the phrase with which theatrical performances were usually ended: 'If you are satisfied, give me your applause. . . .'" A short time after he expired in the arms of Livia (19th August, 14 A.D.).[2]

Sports and games of children.[1]

The author of this much-quoted passage has led people to believe that the emperor in his last moments plucked off a mask which he had worn for four-and-forty years. When the drama has lasted so long it is no more an actor representing a part; the *rôle* has become the man's life, and he is very nearly that which he has so long striven to appear. Augustus was not the jocular sceptic, but the grave statesman, conversing in his last hours with his successor, anxious that the public tranquility should not be disturbed at the news of his illness; he died as he had lived, with that thought uppermost in his mind which was so necessary to the Roman world—the thought of public order.

Augustus and Livia.[3]

[1] Ancient gymnasium, from an engraved stone. (La Chausse, ii. pl. 133, and Agostini, *Gem. ant.*, part ii. pl. 21.)

[2] The reader will contrast this account of Suetonius with the picture drawn by the sombre imagination of Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 4) and the ridiculous accusation made against Livia of having hastened the death of this old man of seventy-six. We may also doubt the story of Augustus's visit to Agrippa [Postumus] whom the public detested: *trucem . . . . non ætate neque rerum experientia tantæ moli parem* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 4); to what purpose would it have been, since it could have no result, and since at that very time the emperor was giving Tiberius every mark of esteem?

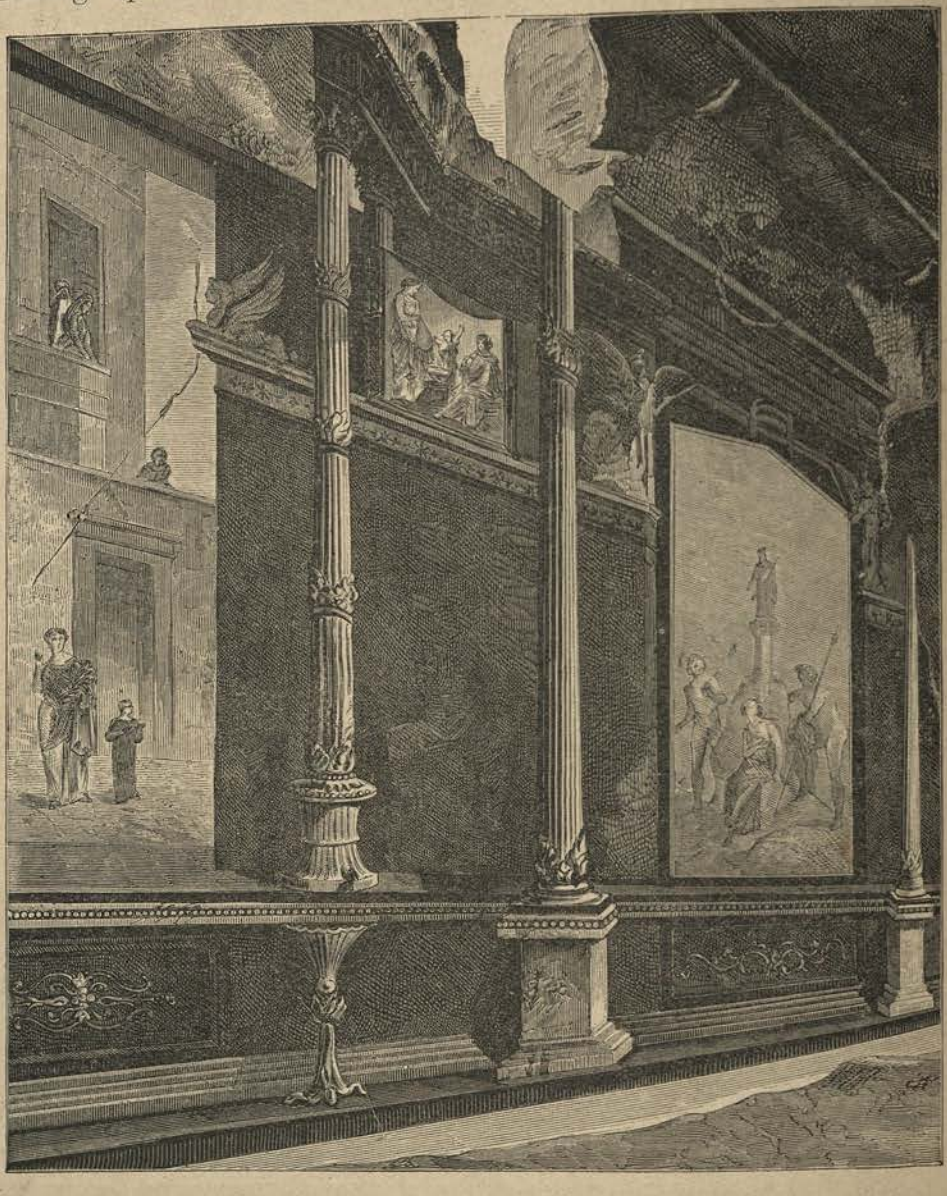
[3] Busts of Augustus and Livia, from a gem in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 2974.

The emperor lacked only thirty-five days of completing his seventy-sixth year. His body was brought from Nola to Bovillæ by decuriones of the municipia and the colonies. They made the journey by night only, on account of the extreme heat; by day

Palatine. Remains of the House of Augustus.

the corpse was deposited in temples or public buildings. At Bovillæ the knights came out to receive it, and bore it to the vestibule of the imperial house upon the Palatine, where for seven days the body lay in state upon a bed of gold and ivory. The corpse itself was concealed under draperies of purple and gold,

but a waxen figure, made in exact likeness to Augustus, was seen resting upon the outside of the bed, and appeared like one sleep-



Room in the House of Livia.[1]

ing. A handsome young slave gently waved a fan of peacock's feathers above the face, guarding the eternal repose; on the left, came, in turn, the senators in mourning garments, to sit beside

[1] This room is decorated with frescoes, of which a copy may be seen in the École des Beaux-Arts at Paris.

the dead; on the right were Roman matrons in long white garments, without ornament of any kind. In front of the bed was placed a golden statue of Victory, as if that goddess had been one of the Julian family.

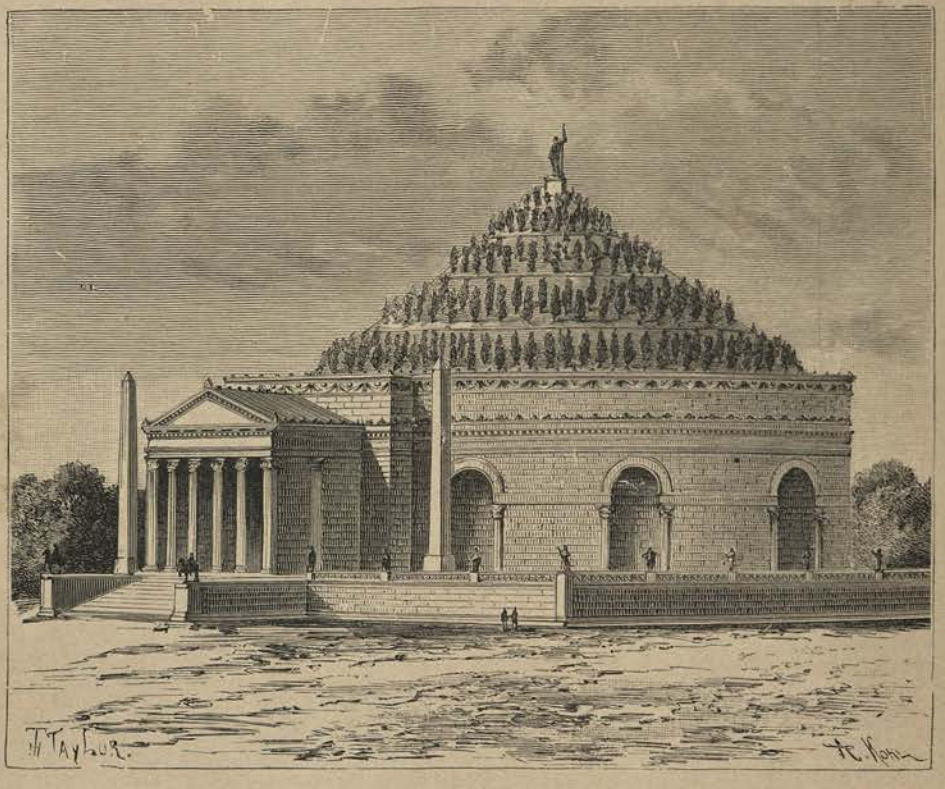
Meantime Tiberius convoked the senate to deliberate upon the honours to be paid to the late emperor. The vestals, who had had charge of the will of Augustus, now brought it into the senate-house; it had been prepared sixteen months before. He constituted Tiberius and Livia his heirs; failing them, Drusus, son of Tiberius, should inherit one-third, and Germanicus and his three sons the rest. A singular point was the adoption of Livia, who was to take the name *Julia Augusta*. He bequeathed to the Roman people, that is to say, to the public treasury, 40,000,000 sesterces; to the populace of the city, 3,500,000; to each prætorian, 1,000 sesterces; to each soldier of the urban cohorts, 500; and to each legionary, 300. Four books that he had prepared were read by Drusus:[2] one regulated the ceremonies for his funeral; the second contained various counsels to Tiberius and to the State: not to extend the frontiers, to restrict enfranchisements, to

Drusus, son of Tiberius.[1]

[1] Bronze statue in the Museum at Naples. (Roux, *op. cit.*, vi. pl. 33, and *Museo Borbon.*, iii. pl. 38.

[2] Dion (lvi. 33); Suet. (102); and Tac. (*Ann.*, i. 11) mention only three books.

be sparing in the bestowal of citizenship, and not to accumulate all the power in the hands of one man. This recommendation on his part seems strange, but it corresponded with the idea he had conceived of an imperial republic which should leave counsel and a share of action to the chief citizens united in the senate. The third book, which has been lost, was a statement of the forces and resources of the Empire; the fourth, a summary of

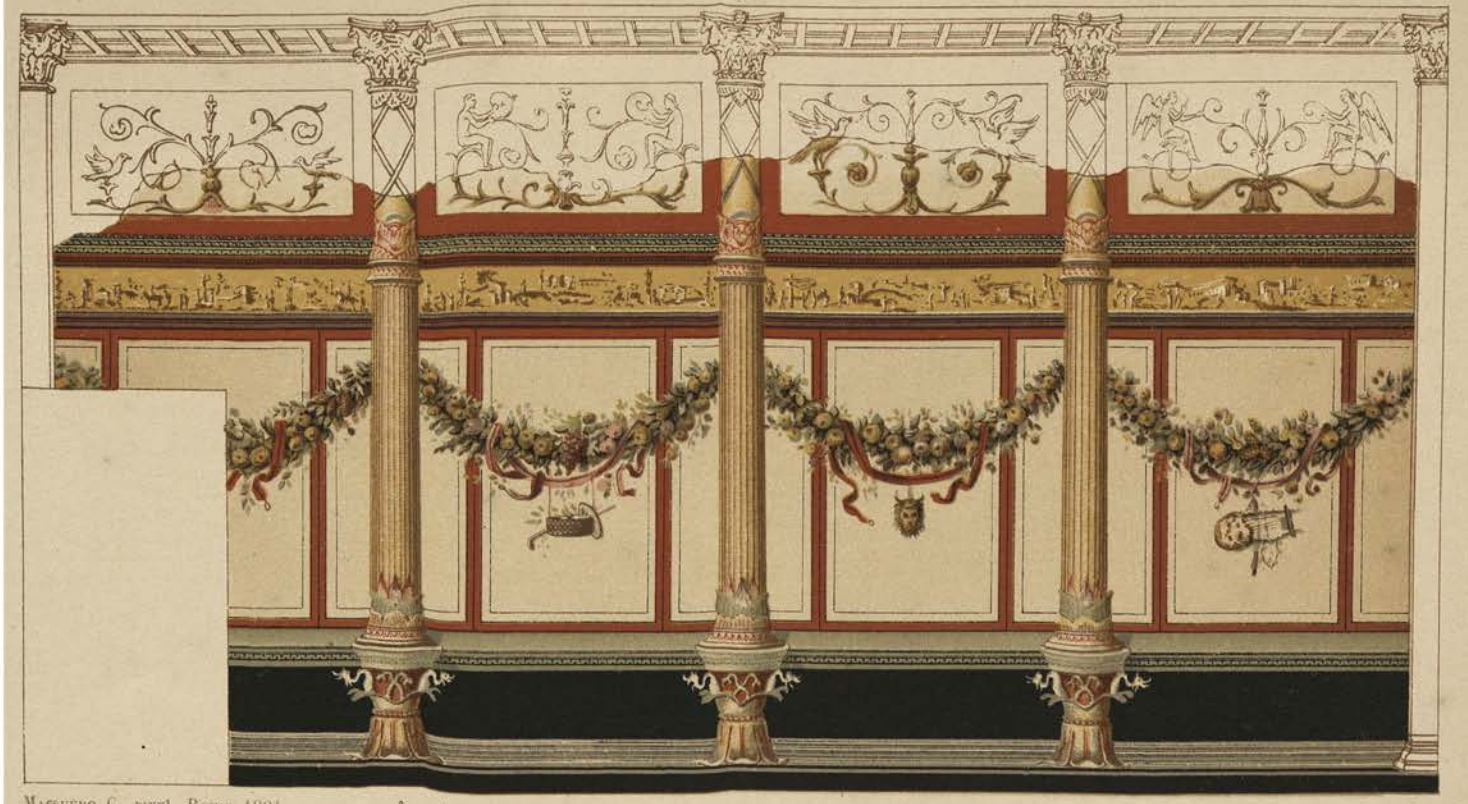


Tomb of Augustus.[1]

his life, destined to be engraved on tables of bronze on the front of his mausoleum. This latter we have almost entire in the Monument of Ancyra, and we can read there, if not the honest thought of the founder of the Empire, at least, what he believed to be his titles to contemporary gratitude.

On the day of the funeral, the magistrates took the bier upon their shoulders and wended their way through the Forum to the Campus Martius, where the pyre had been made ready.

[1] Restoration by Reynaud, *Traité d'architecture*, part ii. pl. 47.



Massuero G pinx^t. Roma 1881. Dambourgez, chromolith.

WALL DECORATION FROM A ROOM IN LIVIAS PALACE

Behind them were borne three statues of Augustus, clad in the toga worn on occasion of triumphs, and figures representing his ancestors and all the Romans who had been illustrious, from Romulus to Pompey, coming out of their tombs, as it were, to attend him; after these were borne figures representing the conquered nations, attired in their costumes; then came the senators and the knights, and then the matrons, and at intervals in the procession choirs of boys and girls of the noblest families chanting funeral hymns; after these, the soldiers of the prætorian guard and of the urban guard, and, finally, the vast crowd of the populace. In the Forum two discourses in honour of the dead were pronounced, one by Tiberius, before the temple of Julius Cæsar, the other by Drusus from the Rostra.

Mercury-Augustus (p. 153).[1]

The procession entered the Campus Martius, passing through the Porta Triumphalis, and arrived at the funeral pile, erected in the form of a square temple four stories in height, the stories retreating as they ascended. It was decorated with pictures and

[1] Bronze statuette in the Museum of Rennes; a specimen of Gallo-Roman art of the first century of our era. The winged and laurelled head of the young god reproduces the features of Augustus and leaves no doubt as to the intention. The eyes were incrusted with silver. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pl. 36, and p. 135.

statues, and covered with the richest tapestries. The bier having been placed in the second story and surrounded with flowers, the priests, magistrates, and senators slowly marched around the monument; they were followed by the knights, the soldiers, and the people, casting upon the corpse, the former their military rewards and the latter incense and perfumes. Finally, upon a signal given by Tiberius, the centurions designated for the duty flung lighted torches into the funeral pile. As the flames reached the top an eagle, flying out from the little temple which formed the summit of the structure, directed his flight upward, as though bearing to the skies the spirit of the dead.

Temple of Augustus.

Livia as Cybele.[1]

The pyre continued to burn for five days, at least, it was not until the evening of the fifth day that Livia, accompanied by the chief men of the equestrian order, went to gather up the bones of the emperor. Having washed and perfumed them, she placed them in a casket of oriental alabaster and bore them to the mausoleum of Augustus, where they were placed in the sepulchral chamber destined for that purpose by the emperor himself at the top of his colossal tomb.

During his life-time the emperor had authorized the provinces to decree his apotheosis; in Rome, he had not ventured at first to do more than lay claim to the title of Augustus; but later he had

[1] Livia, her head veiled and turret-crowned, holds the bust of Augustus in her hand. An engraved stone published in the *Trésor de Numismatique*, pl. 6, No. 3.

allowed the district magistrates to place his image among the Lares and Horace to represent him as the son of Maia, clad in mortal form for the purpose of avenging the murder of Cæsar.[1] The poet was not very much in earnest, but there were those who believed in what he said, or professed to do so: at Lyons a temple was erected *Mercurio Augusto et Maiæ Augustæ*.[2] At Rome they could scarcely do less. On the day of the funeral an ex-prætor affirmed under oath that he had seen the figure of the new Romulus emerge from the midst of the flames and ascend into heaven. With the expenditure of only a million sesterces Livia turned her husband into a god. This seems to us monstrous, and justly so,[3] but we have seen that a powerful person readily received a divine diploma.[5] Everything was prepared in the public

Livia veiled, as Priestess of Augustus.[4]

[1] *Carm.*, I. ii. 41.

[2] *Musée Lapidaire de Lyon*, Nos. 719 and 720.

[3] [Yet, even in our own day, we have approached as nearly to such an apotheosis as Christian manners would tolerate.—*Ed.*]

[4] Bust in the Uffizi Gallery at Florence.

[5] See upon this subject, p. 19, § iii., on *Religious Reform*. Custom established that the senate should judge the deceased ruler. It annulled his acts, *rescissio actorum*, and from that time his name would be omitted in the official list of the emperors; or it confirmed them, and in that case, the people, the legions, and the senate itself swore, in their annual oath of fidelity, to obey his decrees, *jurare in acta principis*. Upon this declaration all his decrees had the force of law, and the confirmation of the decrees was followed by the *consecratio* or apotheosis.

mind throughout the Empire for the apotheosis of Augustus, and the senate proclaimed him *divus*. He had a public cult, festivals, games, sanctuaries, and a priesthood; each city established an Augustal flamen; at Rome there were selected by lot from among the principal personages twenty-one pontiffs, to whom were added Tiberius, Drusus, Claudius, and Germanicus. A domestic worship also was paid him in the atrium of each house. Livia became a priestess to this new divinity, *Augusta sacerdos;* and every morning she could be seen in Augustus's house, now transformed into a shrine, burning incense before the image of him whose human weaknesses none knew so well as she.[1]

Augustus deified (*Cabinet de France*).

III.—The Testament of Augustus.

Concerning the deeds of the divine Augustus by which he subjugated the world to the sway of the Roman people, and the expenditures which he made for the State and for the Roman people: a copy of the original document engraved upon two tables of brass, which are placed in Rome.[2]

1. At the age of nineteen I raised, acting upon my own judgment and at my own expense, an army, by means of which I restored liberty to the State oppressed by the tyranny of a faction. In return for this, the

[1] The subterranean passage by which she went from her own house to that of Augustus yet exists; a lictor attended her in the fulfilment of her sacerdotal duties.

[2] M. G. Perrot, who was intrusted with a literary mission to Asia Minor in the year 1861, brought back from that journey many inscriptions, either new or corrected, which he has learnedly discussed in his book entitled *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie, de la Bithynie*, etc. But his best conquest was that of the first complete and accurate copy of the bilingual Inscription of Ancyra: *Rerum gestarum divi Augusti . . . exemplar.* This document, from which I have already borrowed extensively, is too important not to be reproduced in its completeness. In this summary of his achievements Augustus naturally makes no mention of the proscriptions, nor of Varus [nor does he mention any general or person inferior to the imperial family. His enemies in the civil war, such as Antony, Sextus Pompey, etc., are alluded to as parties—*factio, prædones*]; the senate and the people appear to have acted in full liberty; and, to read it, we should believe that great victories were gained and great conquests made. The largest space, however, is occupied with the enumeration of the honours and offices bestowed upon himself, and his own expenditures for distributions of money and corn, and for games and public buildings. It was this last point which most impressed the public mind, or which government took most pains to emphasize. At least, beneath the Testament

senate, by honourable decrees, admitted me to its number, C. Pansa and A. Hirtius being consuls, giving me consular rank; the senate at the same time decreed to me the imperium, and, that no harm should happen to the State, charged me to watch over the public safety [as proprætor] together with the consuls Hirtius and Pansa. The two consuls having fallen in war, the people the same year created me consul and triumvir, and charged with organizing the State.

II. Those who had killed my father I sent into exile, punishing their crime by regular legal convictions; when they made war against the State, I defeated them twice in pitched battle.

III. I have carried my arms over sea and land, and made war at home and abroad throughout all the world; being victorious, I have spared the lives of all citizens surviving. Foreign people whom I could with safety spare, I have preferred to keep alive rather than to destroy. About 500,000 (?) Romans have taken the military oath to me, and of this number a little more than 300,000, upon the expiration of their term of service, have been established by me in colonies or sent home to their municipia; to all I have assigned lands or given them the price in money from my own savings. I have captured six hundred ships, not counting those smaller than triremes.

IV. Twice I have received the ovation and three times the curule triumph. Twenty-one times I have been proclaimed imperator. Many other triumphs decreed to me by the senate I have abstained from celebrating, and have contented myself with depositing the laurels in the Capitol, in fulfilment of the vows made by me in the name of the State

engraved on the temple wall at Ancyra is a summary in fourteen lines where the total number is given of the temples built or repaired by Augustus and of the sums given by him to the people, the soldiers, and the treasury. Whence Augustus obtained all this money none cared to inquire; only the lavish hand was regarded, and in the eyes of these mendicants the generosity of the prince was his chief title to fame. [Since the researches of Perrot his copy was used by Th. Mommsen for his special edition of the inscription, which was engraved both in Latin and in Greek on the walls of the temple to Rome and to Augustus set up at Ancyra (Angora). A similar temple and text existed at Apollonia (in Galatia), from which fragments of the Greek version have been recovered. They are of no importance, since the Greek part of the Ancyra text has been obtained, which supplements many small gaps in the Latin. Turkish houses had been built against that part of the temple, now a mosque, and the owners would allow no interference. But since Perrot succeeded another excellent explorer, Humann, the discoverer of the art remains at Pergamus, was specially commissioned (1882) to take plaster casts of the whole text, in which he perfectly succeeded. From these casts, now in the museum at Berlin, Mommsen has prepared his new complete edition and commentary (*Res gestæ Divi Augusti*, with 11 plates in facsimile, Berlin, 1883), which may be regarded as final. He there gives his tribute to the excellence and accuracy of Perrot's work, now tested by the evidence of the casts. It is the version of Perrot which is here given, with a few corrections inserted from Mommsen's text. In a learned appendix to this model work of Mommsen, which exhausts all that can be known on the subject, Kaibel has treated of the style of the Greek version, which he shows to be an ignorant and barbarous composition made from the Latin original by some non-Greek person, probably a Roman, who used a bad glossary to give him the Greek equivalents for the Latin words. The Latin of Augustus, on the contrary, is pure, but rather vernacular than elegant. Thus, he uses *profligare* for to *almost finish*, contrary to the classical habit; it should mean to *destroy* (Gellius, 15, 5, quoted by Mommsen, p. 85).—*Ed.*]

in each war. By reason of successes obtained by me, or by my lieutenants under my auspices, the senate has fifty-five times decreed thanksgivings to the immortal gods. Eight hundred and ninety days have been occupied in these sacrifices, their duration being determined by a senatus-consultum. In my triumphs nine kings or sons of kings have been led before my

Remains of the Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra.[1]

chariot. I had been thirteen times consul when I wrote this, and was in the thirty-seventh year of my tribuneship.

V. The dictatorship which the senate and people offered me in my absence, and later when I was present in Rome during the consulship of M. Marcellus and L. Arruntius, I was not willing to accept. In a period of great scarcity I did not refuse the care of supplying the city with corn,

[1] Perrot, pl. 15 On the next page is given a restoration of this temple by Guillaume. [The great Latin text of the Testament was on the wall of the pronaos behind the pillars.] In respect to the Κοινόν of the Galatians, see Perrot's tract, *de Galatia*.

which was so done, at my own expense, that in a few days the people were relieved from the existing danger and from anxiety. The consulship for the year and for life being then offered to me, I did not accept it.

VI. During the consulship of M. Vinucius and Q. Lucretius, later during that of P. Cn. Lentulus, and for the third time during that of Paulus Fabius Maximus and Q. Tubero, by consent of the senate and the Roman

Temple of Rome and Augustus at Ancyra.
(Restoration by Guillaume, *École des Beaux-Arts.*)

people [I was voted, with most extended powers, the sole guardianship of the laws and of public morals. When any powers were offered to me contrary to my country's traditions, I did not accept them; when the senate intrusted me with the arrangement of other affairs, I brought them to a close by virtue of the tribunitian power with which I had been invested. In this office I five times, with the consent of the senate, associated with myself a colleague.[1]]

VII. For ten years successively I was triumvir, having the duty of organizing the Republic. I have held the rank of prince of the senate

[1] [This passage is now supplied from the Greek version in Humann's casts, as were many clauses throughout from the older copies.— *Ed.*]

up to the time when I wrote this, that is to say, for forty years. I have been pontifex maximus, augur, member of the college of quindecimvirs and of the septemvirs, of the Arval brothers, of the college of Titian priests, and of the Fetiales.

VIII. In my fifth consulate, by order of the people and the senate, I increased the number of patricians. Three times I prepared the list of senators. In my sixth consulate I celebrated the ceremony of the census, M. Agrippa being my colleague; after forty-one years I made the census of the Roman people; in this census their number was 4,063,000. A second time, alone, I made the census, with consular authority, C. Censorinus and C. Asinius being consuls; the number was then 4,233,000 Roman citizens. A third census was made by me, having my son Tib. Cæsar for colleague, during the consulship of Sext. Pompeius and Sext. Appuleius, the number of citizens then being 4,937,000. By the promulgation of new laws I have both revived the examples of our ancestors, which were beginning to be forgotten among us, and have myself given to posterity an example of many things worthy to be imitated.

IX. The senate decreed that prayers should be offered to the gods by the priests and consuls every five years for my welfare, on which occasions games often took place, sometimes offered by one of the four great sacerdotal colleges and sometimes by the consuls. Private individuals as well as cities, all citizens wherever they might be, incessantly offered sacrifices to the gods for my health in all shrines.

X. My name, by a decree of the senate, has been inserted in the Salian Hymn and a law made that I should be sacrosanct and that I should possess for life the tribunitian power. The people offered me the supreme pontificate held by my father before me, but I would not supplant any living man in his office. Some years after, this priesthood being freed by the death of him who had seized it in our civil dissensions, I was put in possession of it, so great a crowd being gathered from all Italy to attend the comitia on this occasion as had never before been seen; this was during the consulate of P. Sulpicius and C. Valgius.

XI. To commemorate my return, the senate consecrated before the Porta Capena, near the temple of Honour and Valour, an altar to Fortuna Redux, and decreed that upon this altar the priests and vestals should

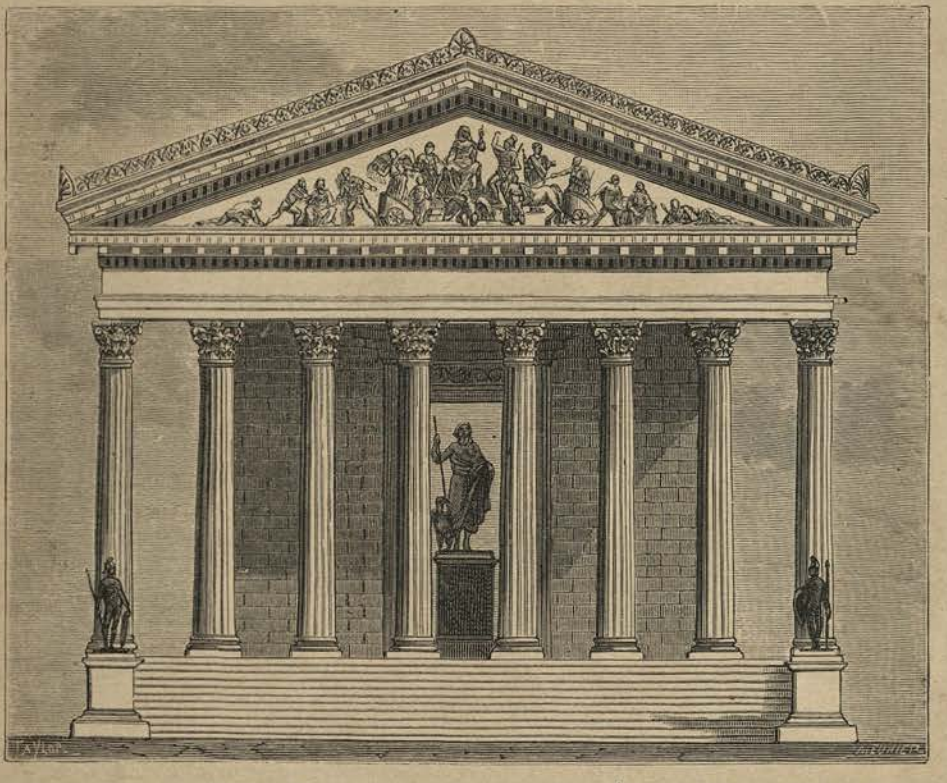
The adjoining coloured plate—a splendid sardonyx cameo in the *Cabinet de France* (about 13 inches by 12)—represents the apotheosis of Augustus. The cameo, which is the largest known, came from the treasure of the Ste. Chapelle, and is supposed to have been given by Baldwin II. of Constantinople to St. Louis (IX.). Above is Augustus on Pegasus, with Cupid, and Æneas or Iulus in Phrygian dress, with the globe of the world; Cæsar as pontiff with a sceptre, and the elder Drusus armed, are present. In the centre is the family of Augustus in the year 19: Tiberius with the sceptre of Jove beside Livia as Ceres. Behind Livia the younger Drusus is showing Livilla his wife the reception of Augustus by Julius Cæsar. On the other side Antonia turns to Germanicus her son. Behind him are Agrippina sitting in arms, and her son Caius with the *caligæ* which gave him his surname. Under Tiberius and Livia, the lately vanquished Armenia. Below are German and Eastern captives, and next the victories of Drusus and Germanicus.

Sellier pinx^t. Imp. Fraillery. Danbourgez, chromolith.

APOTHEOSIS OF AUGUSTUS

offer sacrifice yearly on the anniversary of my return from Syria to Rome, and that this day should be called from my name *Augustalia*.

XII. By a decree of the senate, the leading men of the State, with some of the prætors and tribunes and the consul, Q. Lucretius, were sent to meet me in Campania, an honour never before accorded to any one. When, after having successfully arranged the affairs of Spain and Gaul, I returned from those provinces to Rome, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and P. Quintilius, the senate decreed the erection of an altar on account



Temple of Jupiter Tonans (Restoration by Provost, of the *École des Beaux-Arts*), p. 161.

of my return, dedicated to the Augustan Peace, and ordered an annual sacrifice to be offered thereon by the magistrates, priests, and vestals.

XIII. The temple of Janus Quirinus which, according to the command of our fathers, is never closed except when peace prevails over all lands and seas subject to the Romans, had been closed as our annals attest but twice since the foundation of Rome; under my government thrice has the senate proclaimed that it should be closed.

XIV. My sons, Caius and Lucius Cæsar, snatched from me in their youth by Fortune, the senate and the Roman people, to do me honour, designated as consuls in their fifteenth year, to enter upon office after five years should have elapsed. The senate also decreed that from the day when they were presented in the Forum they should have a share in the

deliberations of public affairs; the Roman knights also unanimously proclaimed them *principes juventutis*, and presented each of them with a silver shield and lance.

XV. I have paid to the Roman plebs 300 sesterces apiece in execution of my father's will, and in my own name, during my fifth consulship, 400 apiece from the spoils obtained in war. Again, in my tenth consulship, I distributed to each man from my private fortune 400 sesterces by way of *congiarium*. In my eleventh consulship twelve times I distributed corn bought at my own expense. In the twelfth year of my office as tribune, for the third time I gave 400 sesterces apiece. These various donations have never been made to less than 250,000 men. In the eighteenth year of my office as tribune, which was also that of my twelfth consulship, I distributed among 320,000 men of the city plebs sixty denarii apiece. In the colonies formed of my veterans I caused to be distributed, when consul for the fifth time, 1,000 sesterces to each man from the spoils of war, and the number of those who thus shared in this gratuity on occasion of my triumphs was about 120,000. During my thirteenth consulship I gave to those of the plebeians who were registered as sharers in the public distribution of corn the sum of sixty denarii a head, and the number of those sharing in this gift was a little over 200,000.

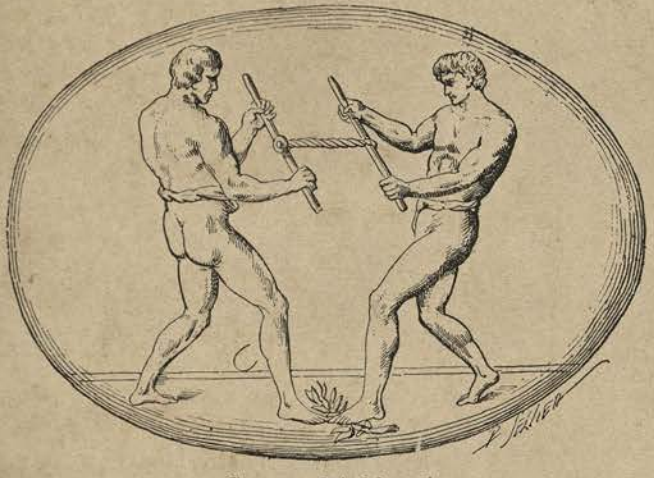
Juno Regina.[1]

XVI. For the lands which in my fourth consulship and later, M. Crassus and Cn. Lentulus Augur being consuls, I assigned to the soldiers, I paid an indemnity to the municipia. For the lands which the Italian

[1] Head of a bronze statue, originally overlaid with silver. Found near Vienne (Isère) in 1859 and now in the Museum of Lyons. From the inscription engraved upon the diadem it appears that the quæstor L. Lilugius presented this statue to the colony of Vienne. (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pl. 1.)

municipia placed at my disposal the sum was about 600,000,000 sesterces, and for the lands furnished by the provinces about 260,000,000. This I was the first and only man to do of all who up to my time have founded colonies in Italy or the provinces. Later, during the consulship of Tib. Nero and Cn. Piso, of C. Antistius and D. Lælius, of C. Calvisius and L. Pasienus, of L. Lentulus and M. Messalla, I gave gratuities in money to the veterans whom I sent home to their municipia, and to this end I expended 400,000,000 of sesterces.

XVII. Four times from my own resources I furnished money to the public treasury, and placed at the disposal of those in charge of the treasury 150,000,000 sesterces. During the consulship of M. Lepidus and L. Arruntius, I gave in the name of Tib. Cæsar and in my own, 170,000,000



Contest of Athletes.[1]

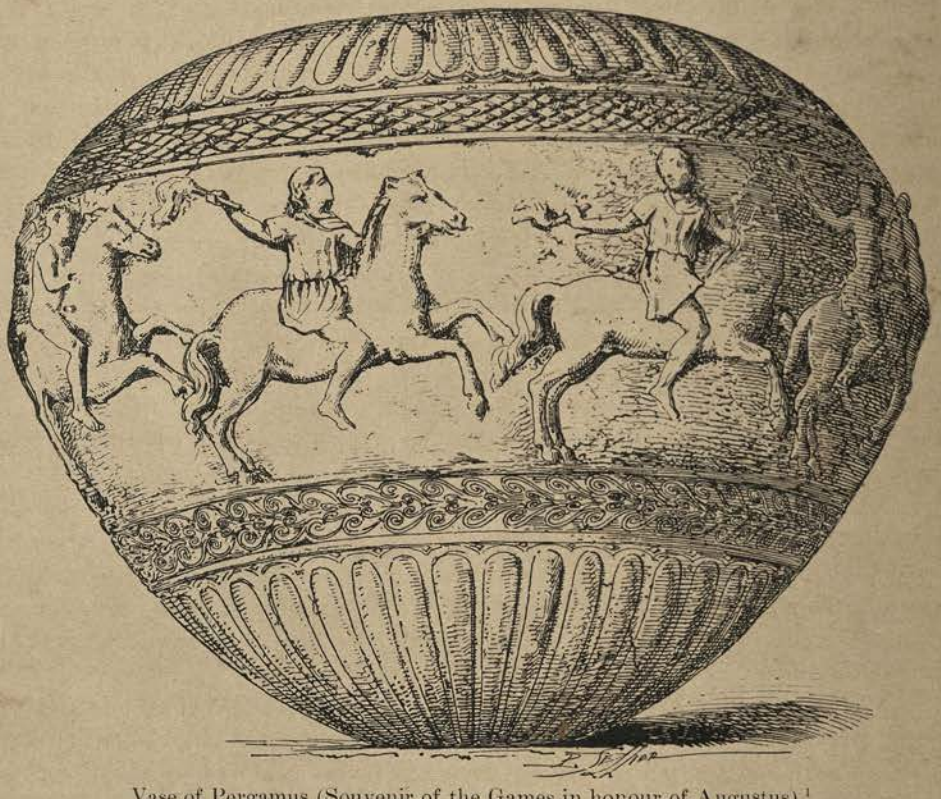
into the military treasury established by my advice for the payment of gratuities to the soldiers who had served twenty years and upwards.

XVIII. The year of the consulship of Cn. and P. Lentulus, the public revenues failed. . . . . I bought corn at my own expense and furnished at one time to 100,000 men [at another to more, aid in corn and money].

XIX. The Curia and the Chalcidicum adjacent thereto, the temple of Apollo upon the Palatine with its porticoes, the temple of the divine Julius, the Lupercal, the portico adjacent to the circus of Flaminius (to which I allowed to be left the name Octavian, after him who had previously built one on the same spot), the Pulvinar at the Circus Maximus, the temples on the Capitol of Jupiter Feretrius and Jupiter Tonans, the temple of Quirinus, those of Minerva, of Juno Regina, and of Jupiter Libertas on the Aventine, that of the Lares at the summit of the Via Sacra, those of the Penates upon the Velian hill, and those of Juventas and of the Mater Magna on the Palatine, were built by me.

[1] Engraved stone in the Gallery of Florence. (Gorii, *Mus. de Flor., Gem. Ant.*, pl. lxxxiii. No. 5.)

XX. The Capitol and Pompey's theatre have both been restored by me at great expense, but without inscribing my name upon either of these edifices. I have repaired the aqueducts which were falling into ruin at many points, and I have doubled the amount of the water called Marcian by turning another spring into its channel. The Julian Forum and Basilica, which was between the temples of Castor and Saturn, works begun and nearly completed by my father, I have finished; and this basilica having been destroyed by fire I have begun its reconstruction on an enlarged



Vase of Pergamus (Souvenir of the Games in honour of Augustus).[1]

foundation, with an inscription of my sons' names, which if I in my lifetime do not complete I have directed that it be completed by my heirs. Being for the sixth time consul I have repaired within the city, by the senate's orders, eighty-two temples, omitting no one that had need of restoration. During my seventh consulship I made the Flaminian Way from Rome to Ariminum from the spoils of war, and all the bridges over which it passes, with the exception of the [Mulvian and] Minucian.

XXI. Upon my own land I have built with the spoils of war the temple of Mars Ultor and the Augustan Forum. The theatre near the temple of Apollo was built by me upon ground which I bought for the most

[1] Museum of the Louvre. Pergamus celebrated every five years the *Augusteia*, or games in honour of Augustus. (Clarac, *Notice de la Sculpt. ant. du Musée du Louvre*, No. 801, G.)

part from private owners, that it might bear the name of M. Marcellus, my son-in-law. Gifts from the spoils made in war have been offered by me in the Capitol, in the temples of the divine Julius, of Vesta, and of Mars Ultor, which gifts have cost me about 100,000,000 sesterces. In my fifth consulship I remitted to the Italian municipia and colonies the present of gold [*aurum coronarium*] of the weight of 35,000 pounds which they offered me on occasion of my triumphs, and after this, whenever I was proclaimed imperator, I refused the same gift which the municipia and colonies offered me each time with the same liberality.

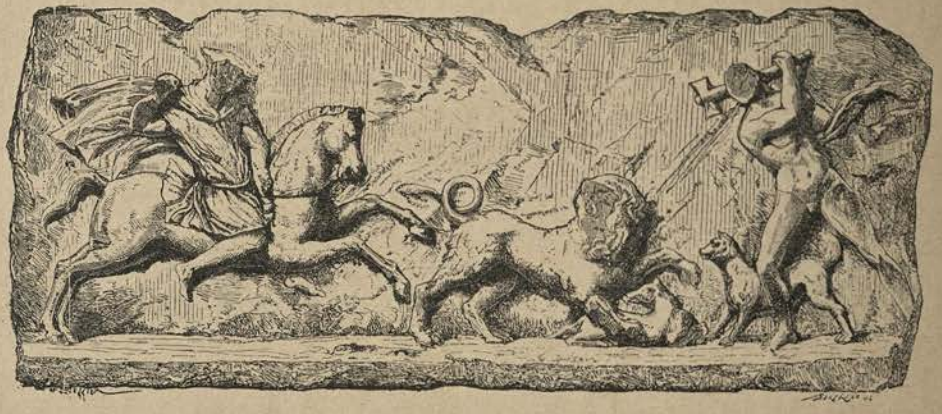
XXII. Thrice in my own name, and five times in the names of my sons and grandsons, I have given combats of gladiators, in which about 10,000 men have fought. Twice in my own name, and a third time in my grandson's name, I gave the spectacle of a combat between athletes summoned from all quarters. I have celebrated the games four times in my own name and twenty-three times in the names of other magistrates. Being chief of the college of the quindecimvirs, M. Agrippa being my colleague, I celebrated in the name of this college the Secular Games, during the consulship of C. Furnius and C. Silanus. In my thirteenth consulship I celebrated in honour of Mars Ultor the games which since then the consuls have regularly given. . . . . Twenty-six combats of African wild beasts have been given by me to the people in my name and in the name of my sons and grandsons, in the Circus, the Forum, or the amphitheatres, and about 3,500 wild beasts have been killed.

XXIII. I have given the people the spectacle of a naval combat beyond the Tiber, where is now the Cæsars' grove, and for this purpose I caused the ground to be excavated for 1,800 feet in length and 1,200 in width. Thirty beaked triremes and biremes and a great number of smaller vessels were engaged in this fight. Besides the rowers 3,000 men fought on these fleets.

XXIV. In the temples of all the cities of the province of Asia, I, being victorious, replaced the ornaments of which he with whom I had been at war had despoiled them, and which he had appropriated. The number of my silver statues, pedestrian, equestrian, and in quadrigas erected in Rome was about eighty. These I myself removed, and from their value converted into money, I placed offerings of gold in the temple of Apollo, in my own name and in the names of those who had offered me the honour of these statues.

XXV. I have freed the sea from pirates, and in that war I captured and returned to their masters, that they should suffer condign punishment, about 30,000 slaves who had escaped from their masters and taken arms against the Republic. All Italy spontaneously offered allegiance to me, and demanded me as leader in the war which I ended by the victory of Actium. The same oath was taken to me by the provinces of Gaul, Spain, Africa, Sicily, and Sardinia. More than 700 senators served under me, of which number, up to this day, 83 have become consuls and about 170 have received the office of priests.

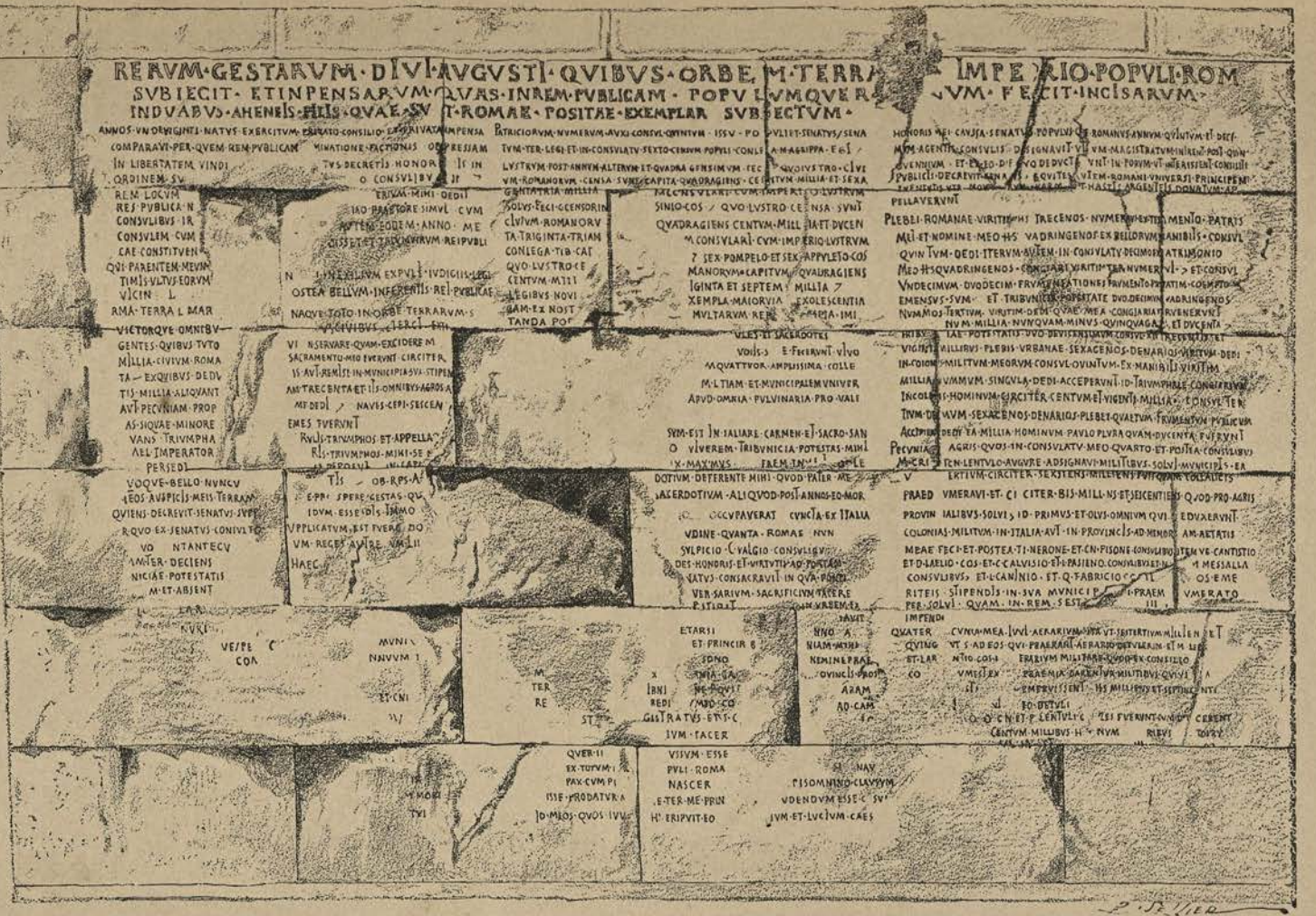
XXVI. I have extended the limits of all the provinces of the Roman people adjacent to countries not yet subjected to our rule. I have pacified all the provinces of Gaul and Spain along the coast of the ocean from Gades to the mouth of the Albis. The Alps, from the region adjacent to the Adriatic Sea as far as the Tuscan, I have added to the Empire without unjustly making war upon any people. My fleet sailed by the ocean from the mouth of the Rhine to the east up the boundaries of the Cimbri, into regions whither no Roman hitherto has come by sea or land. The Cimbri, the Charydes, the Semnones, and other German tribes of that region, have by their deputies solicited my friendship and that of the Roman people. By my orders and under my auspices two armies have been led at about the same time into Æthiopia and into



Lion-hunt (Bas-relief in the Louvre).

Arabia, called Eudæmon [Felix]; the two nations who attacked us have been defeated with great loss in battle, and many prisoners have been taken. In Æthiopia an advance was made as far as Nabata, near Meroe. In Arabia the army penetrated as far as Mariba, on the frontier of the country of the Sabæans.

XXVII. I have brought Egypt under the dominion of the Roman people. Of Greater Armenia, after the murder of its king Artaxias, I might have made a province, but I chose rather, following the example of our ancestors, to give over this kingdom to Tigranes, son of Artavasdes, grandson of king Tigranes, and I employed in this affair Tib. Nero, being at that time my stepson. And afterwards the same people, becoming disorderly and rebellious, were subdued by my son Caius, and restored by my orders to king Ariobarzanes, son of the Median king Artabazes, and upon his death to his son Artavasdes. The latter having been killed I sent into the kingdom Tigranes, of the royal race of Armenia. All the provinces lying beyond the Adriatic Sea eastward, and the Cyrenaica, in great part given up to foreign kings, I recovered, as at an earlier period I had repossessed Sicily and Sardinia, detached from the Empire by a servile war.



Fragment of the Testament of Augustus (G. Perrot, *Explorat. archéol. de la Galatie*, etc.).

XXVIII. In Africa, Sicily, Macedon, the two Spains, Achaia, Asia, Syria, Gallia, Narbonensis, and Pisidia, I have established military colonies. Italy also possesses twenty-eight colonies of the same nature founded by me, which within my lifetime have become very flourishing and populous.

XXIX. Many military standards lost by other generals I have recovered from Spain and Gaul and from the Dalmatians. The Parthians I have compelled to surrender the spoils and standards of three Roman armies, and to implore the friendship of the Roman people. These standards I have deposited in the sanctuary of the temple of Mars Ultor.

XXX. The Pannonian nations, among whom before my administration no Roman army had ever penetrated, were conquered by Tib. Nero, then my stepson and lieutenant; I have made them subject to the Roman people and have set back the limits of the province of Illyria as far as the Danube. A Dacian force having crossed this river, were under my auspices defeated and destroyed; and later, my army crossing the river, compelled the people of Dacia to submit to the Roman power.

XXXI. Embassies from the kings of India have been many times sent to me, which has never before occurred under any Roman ruler. Our friendship has been sought, by means of deputies, by the Bastarnæ, the Scythæ, and the kings of the Sarmatæ dwelling on both sides of the Tanais, and by the kings of the Albani, the Hiberi, and the Medi.

XXXII. To me as suppliants have come the kings of the Parthians, Tiridates and afterwards Phraates, son of king Phraates; of the Medes, Artavasdes; of the Adiabeni, Artaxares; of the Britanni, Dumnobellaunus and Tim . . . .; of the Sugambri, Mælo; and many of the Marcomanni and Suevi. Phraates, son of Orodes, king of the Parthians, sent to me in Italy all his sons and grandsons; not in consequence of a defeat, but seeking our friendship by the offer of his own children as hostages. Many other nations who had never before had any relations of friendship and commerce with the Roman people have during my reign formed alliance with them.

Ariobarzanes.

XXXIII. From me the Parthians and Medes, having sought this by ambassadors, the chief men of their nation have received as kings, the Parthians Vonones, son of king Phraates and grandson of king Orodes, and the Medes Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdes, grandson of king Ariobarzanes.

XXXIV. In my sixth and seventh consulships, after I had put an end to the civil wars, having had by general consent all powers in my hands, I gave up to the senate and the Roman people the conduct of public affairs. For this merit I was called, by a decree of the senate, Augustus; it was decreed that the portals of my dwelling should be publicly wreathed with laurels, that a civic crown should be placed above my door, and that in the Curia Julia should be placed a golden shield, with the inscription that it was given me by the senate and the Roman people in honour of my valour and clemency, my justice and patriotism. From that time I have

surpassed all others in public respect, but I have never had more authority in any magistracy than the colleague sharing it with me.

XXXV. During my thirteenth consulship the senate, the equestrian order, and all the Roman people conferred upon me the name of *Pater patriæ*, and directed this title to be inscribed in the vestibule of my dwelling, and in the Curia and the Augustan Forum under the quadriga erected in my honour by the senate. When I wrote these words I was in my seventy-sixth year.

Supplementary Note by an Unknown Hand.

The total of the sums given by him to the treasury, the people, and the discharged veterans amounted to 600,000,000 denarii.[1]

He built the temples of Mars, of Jupiter Tonans and Jupiter Feretrius, of Apollo, of the divine Julius, of Quirinus, of Juno Regina, of Jupiter Libertas, of the Lares, of the Penates, of Youth, and of the Great Mother; the Lupercal, the Pulvinar near the Circus, the Curia with the Chalcidicum, the Augustan Forum, the Julian basilica, the theatre of Marcellus, the grove of the Cæsars beyond the Tiber, the Portico on the Palatine, and the portico of the Flaminian Circus.

He restored the Capitol and eighty-two sacred buildings, Pompey's theatre, the aqueducts, and the Flaminian Way.

His expenses for games, combats of gladiators and athletes, a naval battle, and the chase of wild beasts, it is impossible to estimate; the same is true in respect to his gifts to the Italian cities and colonies, to provincial cities destroyed by earthquakes and fires, and also to friends and senators to whom he supplied the amount of property needed to secure their rank in the census.

[1] [Equal to 2,400,000,000 sesterces, evidently in round numbers, the exact total of the gifts not amounting to 2,200,000,000 sesterces. This note is probably by some Greek of Ancyra, and the Latin version here seems from its mistakes to be a version of the Greek and not the original.—*Ed.*]

[This famous document is all important in confirming the general verdict of historians as to the character of Augustus. It is eminently the declaration of a little great man, of one who had amassed all the means and materials for greatness, and had nevertheless failed to attain it —*imperator*, says T. Mommsen (*Mon. Ancyr.*, p. vi.) *animi callidi magis quam sublimis, quique magni viri personam gesserit ipse non magnus.* He is unable to boast of a single large or fruitful reform, of a single enactment tending to the real improvement of his subjects. What are doles of money, gifts of land, votes of thanks and supplications to the gods? Acts of flattery and of mendicancy to which he habituated the world. He no doubt kept peace and order, he attempted abortive reforms in morals—abortive because they were made from without, and by mere imitation of ruder times. But for liberty of thought or for political development his mind seems a blank, and he can tell of no such benefits conferred upon his subjects.—*Ed.*]

CHAPTER LXX.

LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART IN THE TIME OF AUGUSTUS.

I.—Literature.

EXPRESSIONS such as the age of Pericles, of Augustus, of Leo X. are no longer at the present day misunderstood. These patrons of literature and the arts received from art and letters far more than they were able to bestow upon them; they count for nothing in the great work going on in their time. Intellectual revolutions, like all others, are long in preparation, bursting forth only when the man of signal ability appears. But men of this sort are formed by nature, not by the ruler. We must, however, give a name to epochs in which the race, concentrating its productive energies, brings forth in rapid succession a crowd of master-pieces; and the name is fitly chosen when it is that of a prince who has valued the achievements and courted the society of men of genius. History with good reason accepts the custom, and, say what we may, posterity will never separate these princes from the men eminent for genius, exploits, or virtues, by whom their reigns have been made illustrious.

Of these brilliant groups, shall we say that the noble train which gathers about Augustus—surrounding him, not led by him—is the least illustrious? Plautus is not among them, nor Terence, Lucretius, Cicero, Cæsar, and Sallust, who all lived earlier, nor Tacitus, who belongs to a later period. But at his side, constantly helpful to him, we see Mæcenas and Agrippa, diplomacy and strategy; and after them Drusus and Germanicus, young princes beloved of the Roman people and of history. Behind him are three immortal writers: Virgil, who leads the choir of poets; Livy, recounting the laborious lives, the patriotism, and the lofty deeds of bygone times; and Horace, the tuneful singer of good

sense and good taste. Following these, although very far behind them, we observe Varius, who strove to rival Sophocles, as if the tragic muse could find a place at Rome along with the sports of the amphitheatre;[2] Tibullus, Gallus, Propertius, elegiac poets whose verses had but little simplicity because they were too learned; Ovid, whose copiousness is too often sterile; Phædrus, a cold but limpid writer; Manilius, who sang the stars, "the confidants of destiny;" Varro, Hyginus, and Flaccus, representing erudition under the only forms known at Rome, the grammatical and liturgical; Celsus, who, as an imitator of the Greek master of medical science, may be called the Roman Hippocrates; Strabo, the great geographer; and Vitruvius, the over-praised adviser of those unknown architects who changed the aspect of Rome. To these we add Trogus Pompeius the Gaul, and the Roman Greeks,

Urania, or Astronomy.[1]

[1] This beautiful statue, for a long time at Velletri, the native place of Augustus, is now in the Vatican (Hall of the Muses, No. 504).

[2] Varius composed a tragedy, *Thyestes*, which Quintilian has the bad taste to compare with the finest works of Sophocles and Euripides, but which was not played in public, as Ovid's *Medea* never was (viii. 3, 17, and ix. 1, 98). The Roman tragedies were suited only to private representations, being in large measure incomprehensible to an audience gathered from the four quarters of the globe, and representing every variety of beliefs and manners. To the poets mentioned in the text we may add Ponticus, author of an epic on the Theban war, which Propertius (*Eleg.*, I. vii.) flatteringly couples with the Homeric poems: Bassus, at that time famous for his iambics; Corn. Severus, author of tragedies, epigrams, and elegies; Pedo Albinovanus, author of a poem on Theseus; Carus, who composed one upon Hercules; Tuticanus, translator of the *Odyssey*, and others. I will not speak of Cornelius Nepos, who

Dionysius of Halicarnassus, Diodorus Siculus, and Nicolaos of Damascus, who wrote general histories for this universal Empire; and lastly, the sturdy republican Labeo and his rival Ateius Capito, founders of the two great schools of jurisprudence, the one advocating strict adherence to the old Roman law, the other speaking in the name of that power then new, yet represented by Cicero as older than the world and contemporary with God himself, namely, equity, or natural justice.

Let us suppose that some skilful painter should represent on canvas the picture we have now sketched, and let it be placed side by side with Raphael's *School of Athens:* the dazzling superiority of Greece must be recognized, indeed, but we shall be able to say that Rome, for her part, can show a brilliant page.

From the train attending Augustus we may detach a few individuals whose action upon Roman society was especially direct, or who represent to us very clearly certain phases in the spirit of the times. A history of literature reserves all its attention for real works of art, and is justified in neglecting whatever does not bear this glorious stamp. But political history, which must deal with ideas, goes everywhere in search of them, even where the literary talent may be of a low grade. For this reason she questions, because of their popularity—that is to say, because of the influence they have wielded—a philosophic theologian like Varro, and even a comedian-moralist like Publilius Syrus, never failing, however, to reserve the first place for the men of genius who have made their age illustrious. Some of these men, who have written for all time, were in those days living at Rome, and while the emperor was providing peace and order, they for their part, with a rare comprehension of the duties of genius, were seeking to second him in his task of pacification, and by a worship of the good and the beautiful to elevate the public mind, so long debased by corruption, by fratricidal strifes, and the overflow of all evil passions. This is not to say that Augustus formally enrolled among his counsellors,

was a poor historian, nor of Julius Cæsar, who, as a writer, must be placed in the foremost rank. Hyginus was one of the emperor's freedmen and had charge of the library of the imperial palace.

with the title of professors of public morals, Horace and Virgil and Livy. Their inclinations harmonized with the intentions of the ruler, and in his own way each one of them, with entire freedom of action, wrought at the common task.

Against assigning this *rôle* to Horace, the reader may be disposed to allege that frequent levity of language which appears to us more culpable than it did to a people among whom even Cato regarded courtesans as a salutary institution. In spite of this tribute to the coarseness of Roman manners and to his own weakness, Horace is a moral writer. S. Jerome calls him a serious poet, and the ecclesiastical authors of the Middle Ages are wont to quote him.[1] Without rising, it is true, to the severe virtue of the Stoics, he stands between Epicurus and Zeno, in a middle region, somewhat too broad and easy it must be confessed, but one in which many like himself attain to virtue and integrity.[2]

And so, without much thought on his part, following his own inclination, not any man's orders, Horace, in the Roman world, assumed the functions of the early poets who first disseminated moral truths. The key-note of all his philosophy is that sentiment of fitness which in art we call good taste, and in the conduct of life, good sense; he is never done advising that moderation in desires which holds each man in his place, as the poet himself was all his life content with his clerkship in the quæstor's office. The melancholy of our times is quite unknown to him; never will he repeat those words attributed to one of his masters, Æsop: "God moistened, not with water but with tears, the clay whereof he made man."[3] He does, indeed, see Death with fatal foot strike at the door of the poor man's hut as at that of the royal palace, but the sombre visitant only teaches him to make the most of the days still left him; *Carpe diem*, he cries, and

[1] The popes were stricter; the first edition of Horace printed at Rome bears date of the year 1811, during the French occupation [and yet in the previous century the most licentious selections from the classics had been most expensively produced at Rome—*Ed.*]. (Cf. Walckenaer, *Life of Horace*, i. 519, n. 1.) His father, a slave in Venusia, had assumed after his enfranchisement the name of the *tribus Horatia*, to which that city belonged; hence the son's name.

[2] *Quid verum atque decens curo et rogo, et omnis in hoc sum.* (Hor., *Epist.*, I. i. 11.)

[3] An expression quoted as Æsop's (Niceph. Greg., book xiv. chap. iv.), but manifestly of Christian origin.

adds felicitously: "As old age advances, become gentler and better."

Lenior et melior fis accedente senecta.

He acts upon his own advice and seeks to improve himself. "Let us see," he says to his *villicus*, "let us see which of us two is the better husbandman, you hoeing my field, I my mind—and whether Horace or his field shall come out the better." Withal, none of those theatrical austerities in vogue later, which neither nature nor virtue require. He leads an easy but an orderly life, and surrounds himself with all the elegance of art, of thought, and of nature. He loves not tumult and the crowd, and would have been no braver in the Forum than on the battle-field. A little domain in a beautiful situation, and a shady grove where in the days of a gay youth, somewhat over-prolonged, a Lalage or a Cinara awaited him, but where now only the delicate breath of the Muse agitates the leaves, *spiritum Graiæ tenuem camenæ;* good figs of Tusculum, and the Falernian of the year when Manlius was consul; elegant conversation—where daily more and more philosophy holds a place—with chosen friends, with him above all who was half the poet's soul, or that other whom he desired not to outlive—this, to Horace, was the height of his desires.[1]

He has no desire for aristocracy of birth, dignity, popularity:

Non ego ventosæ plebis suffragia venor.

And elsewhere:

Odi profanum vulgus et arceo.

And, if he seek the favour of the former and would be glad if his verses occupy the leisure of men of rank, he still proudly claims all the rights of genius. He does not blush to be known as a freedman's son and sending his poetry to the bookseller: "Do not fear," he says, "to recall my humble birth and modest fortune. What is denied me as a question of rank shall be given me for my merit." Horace really is, then, the poet of a world which was becoming monarchical and of a newly-formed court; and still he is very far from being a courtier. His position

[1] He said of Virgil, *dimidium animæ meæ;* and declared to Mæcenas that he would die with him, which, indeed, with but a few days' interval, he did.

towards Augustus is like that of Racine and Boileau towards Louis XIV.; of greater dignity, in fact, for Horace had neither the office nor the pension of historiographer. He refuses favours, although to the most delicate tokens of appreciation the emperor had added the gift of his friendship.[1] And the patron comprehends his protégé's noble independence expressed in the latter's motto:

Site of the Villa of Horace.[2]

"I will rule Fortune, and never be ruled by her." Listen to these proud, free words even against the gods themselves: "Ask from Jupiter only that which he gives and takes away, life and fortune; but as for peace of mind, that is ours, to bestow upon ourselves."

Horace, the idler of the Forum, the *habitué* of the palace of

[1] *Carm.*, I. vi. and II. xii. See also *Epist.*, I. vii. Propertius does the same (III. ix.). Whether as flattery towards Augustus or from resentment against Cæsar, we cannot determine, but the fact exists that neither Horace nor Propertius ever make any reference to the dictator.

[2] From Didot's *Horace*, p. xxiii.

Mæcenas, addressed himself to the man of polite society in every age, and yet served the emperor's designs.[1]

Virgil did this even in a higher degree, although living habitually out of Rome, and seeming in mind to dwell far apart

Virgil.[2]

from his contemporaries. He united in himself merits rarely found together; and yet in the history of letters is scarcely to be found a more harmonious genius. A heart chaste and tender, loving the woods and fields and nature in all her forms, echoing her soul with

[1] He appears, however, to have enjoyed but little popularity either during his lifetime or in the century following. The *graffiti* of Pompeii, which reproduce the verses of Virgil, Propertius, and Ovid, quote not a line from Horace. Virgil, who fled from the world, has remained popular, and legend seized upon him even in the Middle Ages; to the people Horace was unknown, because for legend mystery is needful, which there was in Virgil's life, while there was none at all in that of Horace, who gives us the particulars of its daily course in the fullest detail. But he was very popular with men of letters, and is frequently quoted or imitated by Christian writers.

[2] Bust from the Museum of the Capitol.

his own,[1] he lavishes his affection upon all that he beholds, and animates whatever he sees that he may represent it as loving, suffering, and weeping. Everywhere he finds grief and tears: *sunt lachrymæ rerum.* He detests "the wicked madness of war,"[2] and he is touched, is grieved, at whatever dies, *mentem mortalia tangunt,*[3] whether it be the heifer breathing out her gentle life beside the well-filled crib, or the bird struck down from the clouds, or the bull falling dead in the furrow at his mate's side, who bewails him with fraternal lamentation.[4] For Cato the earth is a means of gain; for Virgil she is the nourishing goddess, mother of all beings. In the spring-time she receives her celestial spouse, the mighty Æther, descending in fertilizing showers which swell the germs of vegetation and make the harvests ripen. He sees and comprehends the vast cycle of the universal life, and in the enthusiasm of his poetic knowledge he cries aloud with all humanity:

Felix qui potuit rerum cognoscere causas.

And there are also chords which vibrate to the breath of patriot thoughts, for all his country's grandeur, for Rome, which he calls the most beautiful of things, *rerum pulcherrima,* for that stately hill of the Capitol which shall endure "so long as the pontifex ascends its steps, the silent vestal at his side."[5]

All this he clothes in the most charming verse, and from the point of view of art Virgil is a greater poet than Homer; nevertheless, the *Æneid* will remain as far from the *Iliad* as marble is from life, since the most skilful artist cannot enter into competition with the work which sprang living from the hands of God or from a people's spirit. Homer could be blind, he sang what Greece had sung. Virgil examined all histories, he laboriously re-awakened the lost echoes of all traditions, and made a work of erudition as well as of poetry. Hence, to animate the fair Virgilian marble, it is needful to give it

[1] *Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus*
Mens agitat molem et magno se corpore miscet.
Inde hominum, pecudumque genus . . . . (*Æneid,* vi. 726.)
Virgil is so struck by the spectacle of this universal life that he goes so far as to say: *Animos tollent sata* (*Georg.,* ii. 350).

[2] *Scelerata insania belli* (vii. 461).

[3] *Æneid,* i. 462.

[4] *Georg.,* iii. 495 and 518. . . . *Dulcis animas—Mœrentem . . . . fraterna morte juvencum.*

[5] Hor., *Carm.,* iii. 30; Virgil, *Æneid,* ix. 448.

what the Romans gave: the very soul of Rome, and of the Augustan Rome. How straight to the heart of the Romans his verses went; whether in his most finished work he sought to do by aid of poetry what the Gracchi had attempted by laws—to revive the taste for rustic labour and the virtues of the husbandman's life, the love for "the divine splendour of the fields"[1]—or whether in the *Æneid*, which perhaps was originally called *The Acts of the Roman People* (*Gesta Populi Romani*),[2] he strove to reawaken in them the worship of the gods and heroes of the country! He gives to them a lesson even in his haughty cry: "Remember that the Fates made thee to rule the world!" for he would have them recollect that this Empire was obtained by a sober and religious life. Virgil, who so often sought inspiration from the verses of Lucretius, combats from beginning to end of his two poems the atheism of his great predecessor. "Above all," he says, "let the gods be honoured!" It is the password of Augustus! And, while attesting the sway of the lords of Olympus over the world, he takes pleasure in exhibiting the early shepherds of the nations, those kings of heavenly origin, who, like Cæsar's successor, caused peace and plenty to prevail around them.

Æneas bearing Anchises (*pius Æneas*).[3]

If the *Georgics* are the praise of labour sanctified by religion and recompensed by the gods, the *Æneid* is the eulogy of monarchy consecrated by the divine will and protection. The two poems,

[1] *Divini gloria ruris.* (*Georg.*, i. 168.)

[2] In the verses attributed to Gallus, *de Virgilii morte*, it is said, in reference to the *Æneid*, that it must be preserved, notwithstanding the dying poet's wish: *Fac laudes Italum, fac tua fata legi.*

[3] From a painting on a vase made at Nola (Museum of Munich). O. Jahn, *Münchener Vasensammlung*, No. 903.

therefore, were a plea in favour of that threefold restoration of the manners, the religion, and the royalty of early days, which Augustus was striving to accomplish. Thus, in the wise Æneas, whom the gods led by the hand from the Trojan shores to the banks of the Tiber, many recognized the pious son whom Fortune had conducted from the schools of Apollonia to the palace of Cæsar. The figure of Æneas in the poem seems pale only to those who wish to find an Achilles or Ajax in this calm, cold personage, always master of his heart and of his courage, because he is fulfilling a divine mission and bears, with his sacred Penates, the destinies of the Eternal City. This founder is a priest rather than a hero; the gods act in and by him, *pius Æneas*, and upon his death he became the national divinity, *Pater Indiges*.[1]

Tityrus, the Shepherd: souvenir of the *Bucolics*.[2]

In the eyes of Virgil's contemporaries, the second Æneas, his combats ended and his father avenged, passes, like his prototype, tranquil and gentle through the midst of a world in disorder, calming the passions in which he has no share, bringing back to earth the order which the gods establish in heaven, and also bearing in his hands the destinies of a new Rome, of which in his turn he is to be the protecting divinity, *divus Augustus*.

I merely touch in passing the *Bucolics* of Virgil, a false style of poetry which appears only in the midst of a *blasé* society, where, under gilded ceilings, men talk of flocks and shepherds. In beginning, Virgil proposed to himself to rival Theocritus; and yet in some lines one becomes aware of the genius which later will unfold its wings and soar to the highest summits.

It is not within our scope to speak of the style and com-

[1] This idea that the *Æneid* is a religious poem and Æneas a pontiff exists in Macrobius.

[2] From a terra-cotta lamp (Museum of the Louvre).

position of the two poets. It may be observed, however, as a trait of the character of Virgil, that his heroines are much more poetic than his heroes. No man among the ancients, Sophocles and Euripides excepted, has been able to penetrate as he has done the heart of woman, and discover the treasures of affection, of modest dignity, and of courage concealed there. Dido is the most impassioned woman whom an African sun ever burned with its fires; his Andromache is more touching than Homer's, and

Shepherd, with his Kids.[1]

Camilla has become the type of the warlike virgins whom the poets celebrate.[2]

In exquisite delicacy of feeling Virgil is not of his time, and belongs still less to it by another side of his genius. The shock of the civil wars falling upon his frail and nervous organization[3] made him not only a poet but also a diviner, *vates*. When after so much bloodshed and destruction, after so many deeds of violence of "the impious soldier," the victory of Octavius gave ground for hopes of the return of order, he saw, with prophetic vision, rise upon the world the morning light of a peace

[1] Group in the Vatican.

[2] [This interest in female character was a feature in the Alexandrian literature, as may be seen from the *Medea* of Apollonius Rhodius, in so many respects the prototype of Virgil's Dido.—*Ed.*]

[3] He was tall, but with feeble digestion and delicate lungs.

which was to endure for two centuries. Horace celebrates its welcome approach, dear to all eyes: now peace—now pleasure!

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero
Pulsanda tellus!

cries the gay guest of Mæcenas. The swan of Mantua utters also his cry of joy, but his great and serious thought mounts higher: he sees the renovation of the ages, the order of the centuries which is beginning, and, as it were, a new race descending from the skies to diffuse throughout the world a new spirit:

Ultima Cumæi venit jam carminis ætas:
Magnus ab integro sæclorum nascitur ordo....
Jam nova progenies cœlo demittitur alto....
Aspice convexo nutantem pondere mundum,
Terrasque tractusque maris cœlumque profundum;
Aspice, venturo lætentur ut omnia sæclo!

It is like Columbus, lost amidst the stormy seas, shouting to his trembling crew the saving cry, "Land! land!" and pointing out amid the mists of the western horizon the new world about to emerge from the depths of the waters.

Dido and her Guests.[1]

Virgil, in thus speaking, well expressed an idea which from the recesses of his poet's heart had risen to his head, expelling thence the last traces of sadness and strengthening the hope already there; but in these beautiful lines he also drew inspiration from the Etruscan traditions concerning a millennial

[1] Miniature from the Virgil of the Vatican, from A. Mai, *Virgil. pict. ant. ex. cod. Vatic.*, 1835.

renewal of the world; and perhaps, too, unconsciously, he echoed the vague and mighty emotions with which all the East was astir, about to take form in the grand and divine personality of Jesus Christ. For the purpose of reconstructing the Sibylline books burned in the fire which consumed the Capitol, all the oracles current throughout Greece and Asia had been gathered, and from those lands where patriotism always develops itself in the religious form many Messianic predictions had been brought to Rome. The Hebrew books, and those of the Mazdæans, were full of these prophecies, and the Jews had brought them to Rome, where a prophecy of the sibyl, perhaps set in circulation by Cæsar, announced the immediate and necessary advent of a king.[1]

A messiah is the faith of the religious races when oppressed, and according to their natural genius they expect him peaceful or warlike. How many times have the Arabs, even in our own day, believed that they saw, like the Jews of Palestine, a saviour-prophet appear among them![2] Etruscan, Persian, and Jewish belief,[3] or sibyl's falsehood, this idea of a peaceful redeemer possessed the soul of Virgil at the moment when those long wars seemed to end, and, renouncing the habitual theme of the Golden Age, which the Greek poets placed in the early days of the world, he dared to make it a promise for the future.

Ferrea primum
Desinet ac toto surget gens aurea mundo.

The race has become habituated to this broader view, and, with its indestructible hopes, persists in placing in the future what formerly it placed in the past. The historian, who also looks towards that quarter of the sky where yesterday's sun went down to discover signs of what the morrow's sun shall be, loves to

[1] Jewish books were numerous in Rome. Horace, the friend of Virgil, repeatedly mentions them. (*Sat.*, I. iv., and I. ix.) Cf. the famous passages of Suetonius (*Vesp.*, 4), of Tacitus (*Hist.*, v. 13), confirmed by Josephus (*Bell. Jud.*, vi. 5, 4). Cic., *de Divinat.*, ii. 54.

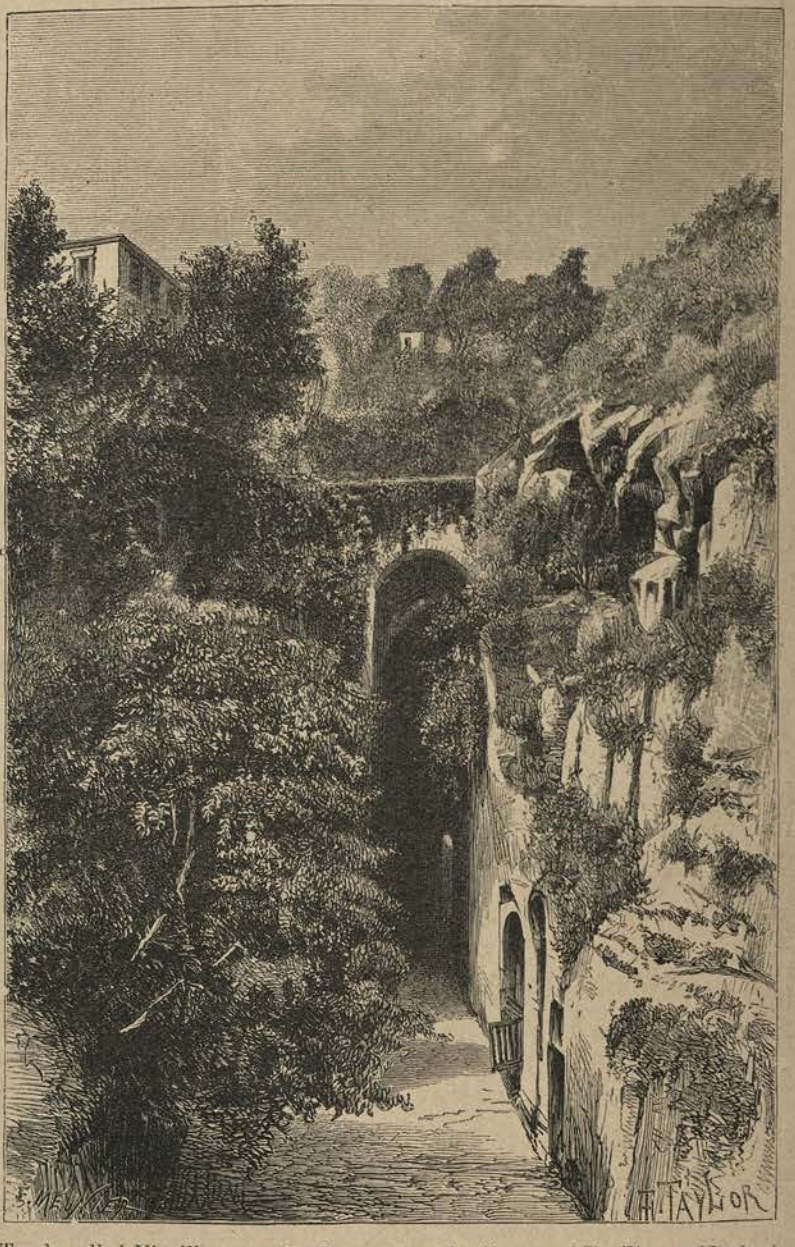
[2] This is the idea of Abd-el-Kader's curious book. He admires our wealth and our civilization, but reproaches us that we do not believe in messiahs. This work is an example of that peculiar condition of Oriental minds which has given rise to so many religions.

[3] If needful, we might discover a Jewish and Persian idea in lines 24–25 of the fourth *Eclogue*, which speak of the serpent's death, as in Genesis, and of the revival of the tree of life:

Occidet et serpens, et fallax herba veneni
Occidet: Assyrium vulgo nascetur amomum.

The *amomum* was to the Greeks the tree of life, the *hom* of the Mazdæans.

regard Virgil, not only as the singer of ancient times, but as the



Tomb, called Virgil's, near the Entrance to the Grotto of Posilipo at Naples.[1]

poet who had a presentiment of the future, the "gentle master,"

[1] Virgil died at Brundusium, and in accordance with his desire his remains were brought back to the region he had most loved, between Naples and Puteoli. To receive them, a monument was built near the entrance to the grotto of Posilipo, but the ruins shown at present under the name are not his tomb.

whom Dante accepted as a guide, and who has been regarded as one of the precursors of a great moral revolution.[1]

Horace and Virgil represent all of Greek that could enter into the Latin genius. Livy, on the contrary, is purely Roman, and the successor of a long line of men who, after serving the country upon fields of battle or in the councils of the State, desired still further to serve her by holding up to future generations the examples of their ancestors. History, like law, was a patrician science at Rome.

It is not known that Livy, who appears to have been of good family, was descended from any of the old Roman houses, but he belonged to them certainly by sentiments and character. He was born at Padua, in the same year that Cæsar received the command in Gaul, and he came to Rome about the time of the battle of Actium, where, like Horace and Virgil, he became the friend of Augustus, who interested himself in the historian's labours, supplied him with documents on the early history of Rome, with which Livy was not well acquainted, and opened to him all the archives of the Empire. From these sources Livy drew discreetly, not having, though really a lover of the truth, either the scholar's curiosity to investigate patiently the remains of the past, or the penetrating critical faculty which divines that which has ceased to be, or even always that impartiality which cares not if a fact wound the pride of the patriot or the author's propriety.

A few words in his preface reveal his very rhetorical, but not very historic method: "The facts," he says, "which precede or accompany the foundation of Rome, have come to us embellished with

[1] One thing a little spoils Virgil for me: he loved money and died a rich man. In the ode, *Ad Virgilium negotiatorem*, Horace, who remained always poor, invites him to supper, on condition that he bring the perfumes, and begs him to relinquish business for a moment:

Verum pone moras et studium lucri.

(*Carm.*, IV. xii.)

Cf., Martial, v. 16. I have spoken of his chastity; I mean as poet, although we must except the second *Bucolic*; but as man it is quite otherwise. (Cf., Martial, VIII. lvi., and Donatus, *Vita Virg.*, cap. v., § 20.) Horace represents Damasippus as addressing to himself a similar reproach:

Mille puellarum puerorum mille furores.

(*Sat.*, II. iii. 325.)

Cf., *Carm.*, IV. i. and x. Tibullus (*Eleg.*, I. iv.) and Catullus (xlviii. lxxxi. xcix.) had tastes not less depraved.

poetic fictions. . . . We pardon antiquity this introduction of the gods into human affairs, which renders more august the beginnings of cities. And, indeed, such is the renown of the Roman people in war, that when they proclaim the god Mars as their founder the nations must suffer it with the same resignation as they submit to our Empire." We readily forgive Livy this haughty language when it is a question of divine origins; but when he forgets the capture of Rome by Porsenna, and the ransom of the Capitol carried away by the Gauls,[1] I distrust him everywhere, and fear that he has exaggerated many victories or concealed many defeats. I regret also that he should copy Polybius at great length, without giving the latter's name, unless we believe, with the candid Rollin, that he did justice to Polybius in some of his lost books.

We must, however, acknowledge that—not to speak of his grand style, which has all the amplitude of Roman majesty—Livy possessed some of the most precious merits of the historian: a vigorous hatred of evil from whatever side it came, whether from the nobles or the people, the senate or the tribunes; the powerful imagination which gives action, life, and colour where the mere annalist would put only a name, a date, a fact; and, finally, the faculty of making himself the contemporary of those whose history he relates: calm in the presence of passions that he may judge them accurately, yet never losing sympathy with all forms of enthusiasm, that he may understand and depict them. In the days of the early Republic, aristocratic liberty would have found in him a mighty orator for its defence. That which he could not now be upon the rostra he was in his books, which are real lessons in eloquence. In them we study the finest forms of language; but his fellow-citizens found there the noblest examples of courage, of discipline, of perseverance, of patriotism—in a word, of Roman virtue.

What was his political creed? He does not tell us. But in his long study of a history of seven centuries[2] he had learned

[1] See vol. i. pp. 179 and 254.

[2] The hundred and forty, or hundred and forty-two books of his Roman History, of which but thirty-five are left to us, begin at the foundation of Rome and close with the death of Drusus, the brother of Tiberius—a space of 743 years.

that institutions are not immutable, nor governments perpetual, and he sought to moderate this inevitable mobility by two forms of control: a respect for morals and a respect for law. This conservative force he required even of Scipio Africanus, the renowned conqueror of Hannibal; and he again demanded it of the contemporaries of Augustus. It was thus that this great historian, whose mind "became ancient by contact with ancient things,"[1] this republican, who praises Brutus and is distrustful of Cæsar, this free citizen of "the greatest Empire after that of the gods,"[2] this rare soul which loved the past, and comprehended the present—it was thus that he also came to have without seeking it an active part in the monarchical work of the conqueror of Antony.

By a contradiction, which the false position explains, wherein, from the first, Augustus placed the Empire, it suited his policy that the picture of the manners of the early Republic should be placed before the eyes of those of whom later Tacitus said that they rushed to meet their slavery. The man whom the situation compelled to violate public liberties would have been glad to bring back the old time without the old liberty; he who had taken the soul out of the nation would have esteemed it his highest glory that these soulless bodies should have the dignity of citizens, that they should become masters of the world by being masters of themselves. We understand the noble ambition of Augustus to make his monarchy illustrious by republican virtues, to balance the docility of minds by an austerity of manners, the dazzling luxury of an incomparable city by the modest and tranquil pleasures of rustic life; but to wish for things mutually incompatible is surely to fail. His poets and his historians had the success which the most eloquent of men obtain when they talk in one direction while ideas, and needs, and habits all tend in another. The crowd escapes their influence; a few men feel it, and formulate, as we shall shortly see, those noble protests of the conquered past against the victorious present, which will prevent, as did Thrasea, the unanimous establishment of demoralized consciences in the presence of despotism.

[1] xliii. 13.

[2] *Maximum secundum deorum opes imperium.* (Livy, *Præf.*)

Livy and Virgil, both depicting the ancient time, were destined, however, to have under the Empire diverse fortunes. After the time of Augustus the great annalist of Rome was little read; the partisan of Pompey became an object of suspicion by reason of his manly tone, and we lose three-quarters of his work. All of Virgil's we have retained, for his graceful lines contain in them no danger to tyranny. Among the early traditions his religious soul took most pleasure in those stories of divine things which awakened no imperial jealousy; and when he praised the life of the fields it was not, like Cato, because there the best soldiers and freest citizens were to be found, but rather because there one forgot the Forum "and war, in the repose and silence of the vast country."[1] Livy, less a poet, was more a statesman; and the book which Augustus had encouraged as a national work appeared an incendiary work to the Caligulas and Domitians.[2]

Varro, another conservative more Pompeian even than Livy, for he served Pompey, scarcely belongs to the Augustan age, since he died five years after the battle of Actium; but he represents a side of the Roman mind which we must not omit, and his works had an influence which at least deserves mention.

Varro obtained from Pollio the honour that alone of living authors he had his bust beside his works in the library of the *Atrium Libertatis*, and could thus "be present to his own posterity." The homage rendered to Varro was beyond his merits. It is true that he lived ninety years, that he published seventy-four works, and ceased to write only when he ceased to live, so that he represents in himself all that the Augustan age knew of the ages that preceded it. "We wandered," says Cicero, addressing him, "like strangers in our own country; thou hast told us who we are and where we dwell. Thou hast fixed the age of Rome and the

[1] . . . . *Procul discordibus armis.*
. . . . *Latis otia fundis.*
(Virgil, *Georg.*, II. 459 and 468.)

[Cf. Lucretius's *Pastorum . . . . otia dia.—Ed.*]

[2] Caligula caused Livy to be removed from all the libraries, and Domitian put to death a citizen whose admiration for the historian was too great. (Suet., *Domit.*, 12.) But it is to a pope that we doubtless owe the loss of a part of the *Annales*. Gregory the Great caused to be burned all the copies of Livy that he could find, through pious horror of the prodigies which the historian relates, and also through fear lest these narratives should serve the pagan cause.

dates of her history; thou hast taught us the rules of the sacred ceremonies and priesthoods, the usages of peace and war, the position of countries and cities, all things human and divine, with the causes which have produced them and the duties they lay upon us." The eulogium is magnificent, but Cicero was complaisant that day; this immense erudition was amassed without judgment and produced without art. The fables that Livy relates with discreet brevity, Varro asserts and expands; and when he attempts vivacity in his treatises by imitating the dialogues of Cicero, his senile attempts displease, as the dull lines of his *Menippean Satires* have the misfortune to remind us of Lucilius and Horace.

Varro, the theologian of the Roman world, borrows his theology from Euhemerus and from the Stoics, without being over-mindful to reconcile the two systems or to conciliate his philosophical ideas with the beliefs of the people. For him there exist three religions: that of the poets, a work of the imagination and domain of fable; that of the philosophers, discovered by reason and explained by it; lastly, that of the magistrates, which is a civil institution. With the first, Varro amuses himself without believing in it; in the second he believes, but does not affirm his belief; the third, through motives of policy, he affirms, and composes his *Divine Antiquities* to defend this official faith against the indifference by which it is assailed.

He admits, however, the unity of God; he believes in "the great soul of the world which blends with the mass of the universe and governs it by reason and will. . . . . The earth and the rocks are the bones of God; the sun, moon, and stars his senses; the ether, his soul. From the ether this soul of the world spreads into the different elements, and the divine part contained in each is called God." Are these gods animated with a life of their own or simply manifestations of the one God? The first solution saved polytheism; the second killed it. Varro, who had no more heroism of thought than of action, avoids expressing an opinion.

Doubtless he could have wished that his gods should make a better figure in the world to the eyes of the philosophers, and so we find him indicating that they are personifications of the terrible or the beneficent forces of nature. After all, it was enough for

him if his meaning were guessed at by his friends: hence he does nothing to purify the popular religion, but much to strengthen the bonds laid by it upon the whole existence of the citizen in the interests of the State.[1]

We know that in religion, as in all things, the mind of the Romans remained in lower regions of thought, far from its lofty summits;[2] that they conceived their gods only as guardians of the field and vineyard, and protectors of the house and the family where their ritual was punctiliously fulfilled; that for the great gods of the city and for the domestic divinities alike there was a cult, but there were no doctrines, there were rites, but no dogmas.[3] If we seek among them for those sentiments of gratitude and love which are the foundation of all true piety, we shall find only a narrow formalism, the trace of which lingers yet. For the contemporaries of Augustus the religious citizen is he who scrupulously observes all the rites, not the man of virtuous life. From this point of view, the Romans were the most religious, that is to say, the most superstitious of men.[4]

Varro employed twelve books of his *Divine Antiquities* in explaining the organization of the priesthood, the nature of sacrifices, the order of ceremonies, in a word, the whole liturgy. His work, therefore, was the Roman ritual, and as such it had much authority and great influence; for this reason S. Augustine attacked it with so much severity, or at least quoted it so frequently in his refutation of paganism.

The *Divine Antiquities* were a work trivial in point of religious or philosophic conception, important by reason of their detail and as a political idea. At the moment when Julius and Augustus Cæsar were proposing to bring order into the State, *ordinare*, Varro essayed to bring order into religion. What was the result of his efforts? He confirmed the crowd in their superstition, men of

[1] *Religio a religare.* (Servius, in *Æneid*, viii. 349.)

[2] Vol. i. p. 94.

[3] *Religione, id est cultu deorum, multo superiores* (Cic., *de Nat. Deor.*, ii. 3); and here *cultus* is taken in its limited sense of rites. The entire passage is explained in this way.

[4] *Religiosi dicuntur qui faciendarum prætermittendarumque rerum divinarum, secundum morem civitatis, delectum habent.* Festus (*s. v.*) adds: *nec se superstitionibus implicant.* This does not destroy the force of what is said in the text, the word *superstitio* being applied to practices and beliefs contrary to the State religion.

intelligence in their indifference, and rulers in the doctrine that it was necessary for the public good to observe traditional rites. This was all that Augustus required.

Varro deals with philosophy as he does with religion; he loves not to look up, and never willingly lingers upon the abstract speculations of Pythagoras and Plato; he hastens to the rules of practical life, sometimes finding noble thoughts along his path: "We do not live for the sake of living, but to accomplish noble designs;" and this, too, which is Christian before Christ: "We should wish for others what we desire for ourselves, for our wives and children and fellow-citizens; and this affection, extending outward from the family to the city, should not be limited there but should embrace the whole group of nations that form humanity, and rise to the gods themselves, whom philosophers represent as the friends of the virtuous man."[1]

The God Sylvanus, Guardian of the Fields.[2]

We have here the word of the future spoken by one of the most valiant defenders of the past; but had he left us only this Varro would have deserved a place in this brief summary of Roman literature. He interests us, however, for another cause. His innumerable works, in which is found everything—religion, philosophy, history, rhetoric, grammar, science,

[1] *Sent.*, n. 115. [This was a current Stoic principle, and no doubt translated from Greek.—*Ed.*]

[2] Statue of the Blundell Coll. (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpt.*, pl. 449, No. 820, A.)

rural economy, in verse and prose—guided, under the Empire, the education of the West, in which respect he resembles Cicero, but without his art."[1]

One form of literature, that of the theatre, can teach much in respect to the social condition of a people. Religious and patriotic in the Athens of Æschylus, it became in Byzantium a school of depravity. What was it in the Rome of Augustus? We are not able to judge by the few drawing-room tragedies which remain to us, but we know that the plays composed by Publilius Syrus, a Syrian slave, had the same fortune as certain of Varro's books, since S. Jerome informs us that in his time they were still read in the public schools.

Syrus had been carried to Rome on account of his beauty, an excellent recommendation, he says, and later was enfranchised, like Phædrus and Terence, on account of his intellect. He went about Italy for a long time, as Molière in the French provinces, composing and performing his comedies (*mimes*). Attracted to Rome by the splendid games given by Cæsar, B.C. 45, he was victorious over all his competitors, even Laberius, and up to the first days of the Empire he reigned upon the stage. His pieces are all lost, but we have some eight hundred pithy maxims of his, which Seneca quotes frequently. "Syrus," he says, "is the greatest of dramatic poets when he abstains from the low jokes fitted for the 'gallery;'" and Petronius, in comparing Syrus with Cicero, does not hesitate to call him the loftier.

I do not over-estimate the utility of the fine sentiments which men often repeat without conforming to them; at the same time it is needful, in order to form a true idea of a social condition, to know what was regarded as perfection, as well in morals, as in art, poetry, and law. Moreover, these maxims which the generations hand down from one to another may be indeed but the drop of water which falls incessantly and seems to vanish in a little mist; but look closely, and you will see that the drop of water is piercing the granite. Here are some from Syrus:[2]

"Listen to thy conscience and not to vain opinions, for it

[1] [Of his works only *de Re Rustica* and fragments are extant.—*Ed.*]

[2] Interpolations have been made in this collection; some of these sentences do not belong to Syrus. [Many of them are Stoic commonplaces and sayings from Menander.—*Ed.*]

will punish even where there is no law. He who loses honour has nothing more to lose. It is more needful to heal the maladies of the soul than those of the body, and the important thing is to live well, not to live long; a noble death gives immortality.

"A great fortune, a great slavery; wherefore disdain all that thou canst lose. Fortune lends, she never gives. He is richest who has the fewest wants.

"To command oneself is the noblest empire, and a manly soul does always what it commands itself to do.

"Expect from another what thou thyself wouldst do to him. Imitate not that which thou blamest in others, nor make of their woe thy rejoicing. Keep thy word, even to an enemy, and have only good thoughts towards him; it is better to receive an injury than to do one. Forgive others often, thyself never, for one must live at peace with men, but at war with one's own vices. Let us rival each other in gentleness and goodness, for this is the noblest emulation.

"Gods looks to see if the hands are pure, not if they are full."

Other traits are very subtle:

"A man dies as often as he loses one of his own. The closest kinship is that of souls. Love, like tears, springs from the eyes, and falls upon the heart."

Or energetic:

"Honours adorn the upright man; they brand the knave. Where the accuser is the judge, force, not law, prevails."

In thus speaking, Syrus condemned in advance Sejanus, and Nero's judges. He saw still further when he desired to put humanity into the law: "The extreme justice is almost always an extreme injustice;" and further yet when he said: "Discuss all that thou hearest; prove all that thou believest." This is the very utterance of Descartes.

Certainly this was good seed falling by the wayside; but who knows whether it may be carried by the wind to some fertile corner where it can germinate?

The old Greek poets endowed man, for good as well as evil, with a superhuman grandeur. In those days the country claimed

the whole citizen, and did not suffer him to forget himself in love. Homer, Æschylus, Sophocles, who sang of heroes, ignore that individual and fascinating passion. But in the peaceful and sensuous cities of the Alexandrian East, poetry delighted to depict the raptures and the miseries of the heart, and its influence came into Rome with Propertius and Tibullus. Fatigued with the spectacles of so many scenes of blood and tragic adventures, men sought oblivion in pleasure, and sang of love where once only manly strains had been heard. Neither Julius nor Augustus Cæsar had any share in bringing about this change, which the new tone of manners and mental condition had produced; and political history need not occupy itself with these writers, mere artists in language, who expressed only personal sentiments. The historic muse asks nothing from Catullus, although his little masterpieces place him very high in Latin literature; still less from Propertius, whose accents are sometimes those of real passion; and Tibullus, whose poetry resembles those delicate fabrics worn by the beautiful Roman women which were said to be woven of the wind; nor even of Ovid, who lived longer than these poets, of lives brief and fragile like their poetic inspiration. He, for his part, had a curious secret to relate to us, the secret of his exile; but he did not tell it, and we are seeking the solution to this day. Two of Ovid's works, however, show both the efforts of Augustus to re-animate the old beliefs and the vanity of his reform of manners. Ovid wrote for the prince a sort of religious and national calendar, the *Fasti*, and for his contemporaries, a manual of libertinism, the *Ars amatoria*,[1] which found many more readers and especially many more disciples. "Venus," he says, "now dwells in the city of her son Æneas." From a literary point of view, it is enough to say that Ovid, who had too much wit and too little genuine feeling, announces by his marvellous and brilliant facility the coming of decay. Yet here and there in his verses are found, if not energetic accents, at least the echo of some strong thought; this, among others, which has become the axiom of modern science, after having been first of all

[1] He explains to us himself that his *Art of Love* was performed with dances and postures, like a series of detached pictures.

a philosophic view of Pythagoras: "All things change, nothing perishes." [1]

To the list of the poets of this time we can add neither Augustus nor Mæcenas, although they both essayed to speak the language of Horace. The prince was unsuccessful; of Mæcenas, we have this strong line remaining: "I care not for my tomb, nature buries those whom life has abandoned." [2] The counsellor of Octavius during the days which preceded the Second Triumvirate had something better than the soul of an Epicurean.

Arrival of Æneas in Latium.[3]

Looking at the Augustan literature as a whole we see that it imagines little and copies much; its voice, a tuneful echo, has scarcely any original notes, and the best among those who represent it remember far more than they invent: of two hundred fragments which remain to us of Greek lyrics, more than a hundred are imitated by Horace.[4] This constant pre-occupation of all the Roman writers with the works of Greek genius impaired their originality; memory destroyed inspiration. Art expelled nature, and with it true passion. Still this literature merits the place which is given it in the annals of the human mind; if it has not the majestic energy of works born of the mighty breath of the imagination and of a people's faith, it gives us one of the most perfect models of the literature of a polished society.

We must also observe that, fairly balancing all things, the literature of this period maintained its self-respect. The poet is often trivial, and art is not morality. But we may notice that the worst of Horace is in his *Epodes*, which he did not make public, and that the theatre, where licence later went so far, was

[1] *Omnia mutantur, nihil interit* (*Metam.*, xv. 165.) Seneca (*Epist.*, 108) and Persius (iii. 84) have repeated it. [Properly the doctrine of Heracleitus.—*Ed.*]

[2] *Nec tumulum curo, sepelit natura relictos.* (Seneca, *Epist.*, 92 *ad fin.*) Augustus wrote much in prose, and in verse composed a poem on Sicily, a collection of epigrams, and a tragedy on the subject of Ajax, which he burned. (Suet., *Octav.*, 85.)

[3] Coin of Antoninus. Æneas bearing his father Anchises towards the circular temple of Vesta. Below, the sow and her thirty young, presaging to Æneas the fertility of his race.

[4] From the age of Augustus the Roman grammarians divided their literature into two parts, one national, the other called by them exotic, as being imitated from foreign works.

still kept within such bounds that a great collection of noble sentiments has been extracted from the comedies of Publilius Syrus.

To conclude, this literature, which had dignity, was not lacking in independence. Liberty, which had voluntarily withdrawn herself from public assemblies, had taken refuge with letters, for they are privileged to guard, even under the ruins of the temple, a spark of the sacred fire from which the noble exile may, some day, re-kindle her extinguished torch. Society resigns its powers into the hands of a single man; but the human mind never does this. In the presence of Augustus, Horace sings "the fatal day (that of Philippi) when valour gave way, and the still threatening countenances lay in the dust."[1] Virgil places Cato foremost in the Elysian Fields,[2] and Livy is permitted with impunity to celebrate the deeds of the great aristocracy whose places Augustus occupies, and gets no harder censure for it than the surname of the Pompeian. Timagenes attacks the emperor and his friends with keen shafts: Augustus warns him to be more guarded, and as he redoubles his violence, forbids him the imperial presence; but Pollio receives the author, and all the city runs after him.[3] We have just seen that the imperial library was not closed against either Catullus or his imitators.

Labienus, however, need not trust this tolerance; if he goes too far his book will be burned by a decree of the senate,[4] and in virtue of the law concerning treason Cassius Severus will be exiled into Crete for having attacked the most intimate friends of the prince; but it is certain that he must have allowed himself very strange liberties, for Tacitus condemns him. A law was passed rendering defamatory libels punishable;[5] misdemeanours of opinion thus fell under the imperial legislation. They were already dealt with in the time of the Republic, since the Twelve Tables; and we ourselves, after twenty-three centuries, are not decided

[1] Eulogies upon L. Sextius, Q. Dellius, Pompeius Grosphus, and Cassius Parmensis, all of the party opposed to Octavius, are found in the verses of Horace.

[2] . . . . *Pios, his dantem jura Catonem* (*Æneid*, viii. 670).

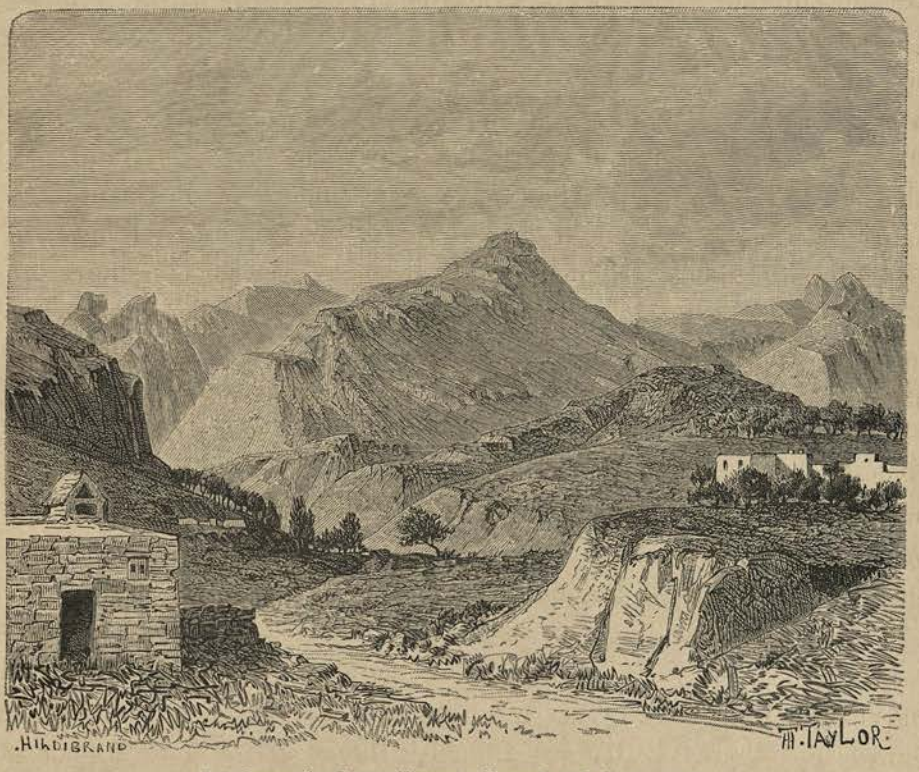
[3] Seneca, *de Ira*, iii. In respect to the moderation of Augustus see Suet., *Octav.*, 31, 33, 51, 56, 61, 66; Seneca, *de Benef.*, iii. 27; Val. Max., VII. vii.; and Macrobius, *Saturn.*, II. iv.

[4] Seneca, *Controv.*, v., *præf.*

[5] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72.

whether, when it concerns the Government, it is better to prosecute them or to pass them by.[1]

Mæcenas has been considered a sort of Minister of literature; but only those inferior writers whose inspiration comes by order are subject to discipline, and under these supervisions only an official literature can be produced, which perishes at its birth.



Landscape in Crete (Spratt, *Travels*, vol. ii. p. 213).

That Mæcenas regulated this may well be believed; he had little difficulty in doing so, for servility was the great evil of the time. Does not Augustus complain of seeing his name compromised by unskilful flatterers,[2] as later Tiberius was indignant at finding his senate too submissive? But we will not confuse the great minds with this rabble, to whom oblivion has done justice. The relations

[1] Dion, in the discourse of Mæcenas (lii. 31), is opposed to prosecution, and Tacitus maintains that the prohibition to read certain books made all their popularity: *Conquisitos lectitatosque donec cum periculo parabantur, mox licentia habendi oblivionem attulit* (*Ann.*, xiv. 50). This we too have seen.

[2] Horace (*Sat.*, II. i.) speaks of precautions that must be taken to praise Augustus in a manner which will be agreeable to him.

of Augustus and Horace show in what manner the prince treated true poets, and if certain of their lines shock our modern democratic pride, we must always make allowance for hyperbole with these southern temperaments.

Louis XIV. directed Colbert to write to the eminent scholars of his time. Augustus wrote himself to Virgil begging the latter to send him the opening passages of the *Æneid*, and to Horace to complain that he was not admitted to share with Mæcenas the poet's friendship. "In your verses you do not willingly converse with me. Do you fear that posterity may consider it a disgrace to be my friend?" And elsewhere: "Thou hast proudly refused my friendship, and yet I have not repaid you with the same disdain."[1]

II.—Science and Arts.

Augustus loved and encouraged intellectual work; still he appears not to have suspected the immense achievements made by the Greeks in the domain of science; he was too Roman to perceive and appreciate them. In the sciences the Romans have really produced nothing. "All that they know," Strabo says, "they owe to the Greeks, without having added the least thing, and wherever a gap exists do not hope that they will fill it."[2] Martianus Capella says even more forcibly: "If we except Varro and some other illustrious persons, there is not a son of Romulus whose threshold science has ever crossed." If she did come, it was but as a casual visitor, for she brought them not a particle of the inventive spirit. Vitruvius added no more to the geometry of Archimedes than did Celsus to the medical science of Hippocrates; and Nigidius, who in Cæsar's time made some studies in mathematics and natural history, is especially known by a treatise on astrology which is a theory of divination. Being a senator, he could occupy himself with prodigies without derogation; as for pure science, that was suited to freedmen. King Juba, who was

[1] Suet., *de Viris ill.*, fragm. The poet had refused to be the emperor's secretary. [Are these details trustworthy?—*Ed.*]

[2] vi. 190.

educated at Rome, and had the reputation of being one of the most learned men at the court of Augustus, firmly believed that a dead man had been raised to life by the virtue of a certain Arabian plant.[1]

Thus mathematicians are rare, but there are swarms of astrologers. All the world consults them, Varro among the rest, who desires his friend Tarutius to cast the horoscope of Rome; and Augustus, who firmly believes in his star, since he knows that his future greatness had been predicted in accordance with the scheme of his nativity.

For the study of nature we have Cato, Varro, Columella, who occupied themselves only with rural economy. They make no attempt to obtain from nature any of her secrets; they seek only to make her more productive. Physics and chemistry did not exist.[2]

Musa, the Physician of Augustus, as Æsculapius.[3]

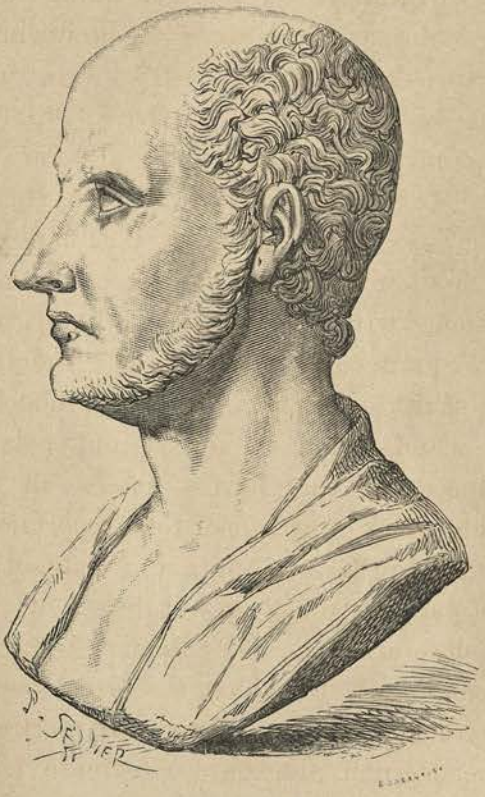
Physicians, it appears, were numerous, being, according to Martial and Celsus, specialists for every part of the body and every form

[1] C. Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.*, vol. iii. p. 479.

[2] It is remarkable that the window-glass found at Pompeii which has been analyzed by M. Bontemps has the same composition as our own: silica, 69; lime, 7; soda, 17; aluminium, 3. M. Dumas indicates for ours: silica, 68; lime, 9; soda, 17; aluminium, 4. But glass was not a Roman [but an Egyptian] invention.

[3] Statue in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, 17. A statue erected to Musa by public subscription was placed near that of Æsculapius. "It was usual," says Vitruvius (i. 2, 20), "to place the sanctuaries of Asclepios near a spring which would serve for ablutions and baths of the sick."

of disease; even women practised,[1] and this custom lasted long in Italy. But, men or women, they all dealt with the science of medicine as the mathematicians did with astronomy, treating the sick at random or on preconceived theory. The most famous of them, Asclepiades of Bithynia, a friend of Cicero and of all the Roman nobles, was the very type of a famous charlatan. He, however, uttered a half-truth of importance: "Nature is the physician;" and he sought to cure in an agreeable manner, *jucunde*, by regimen rather than severe medicines. Musa eclipsed his fame by saving the emperor's life in 23 B.C. through the use of cold baths. The compilation made by Celsus has only the merit of preserving to us much Greek science and giving an important place to anatomy. Surgery was at this time much more advanced than medicine, practising lithotomy, the operation of trepanning, many obstetrical resources, and the operation for cataract.



Asclepiades.[2]

For the purpose of attracting physicians to Rome Cæsar gave them the freedom of the city, and Augustus immunity from taxation. "But this art," says Pliny, "did not harmonize with Roman gravity."[3] The Greeks alone carried on this lucrative profession. If by chance there were physicians who had not come from the Peloponnesus or from the Asiatic coast, they were compelled to borrow from the Greeks their idiom

[1] Cf. Orelli, *Inscr.*, Nos. 4230–31: *Iatromata prima, medica prima*, etc. The organization of the medical service in the Empire will be explained, chap. lxxxiii., § 4. The law allowed physicians to furnish medicines, and required them to sign prescriptions. Hence the great number of physicians' seals which we possess.

[2] Bust found near the Appian Way (Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Philosophers).

[3] *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 8.

as well as their recipes in order to obtain patronage; and it seems that they spoke at Rome the language of Athens as the French doctors in Molière's time spoke in Paris the language of Rome.[1]

In the arts the Romans had, like men grown suddenly rich,[2] the taste of Mummius for statues and pictures: they would have them everywhere; but they were as incapable of comprehending the chaste beauty of the Venus of Melos as they were of producing the work, for when we see Scaurus collecting 3,000 statues for the theatre in one day, and the city containing perhaps 70,000, we cannot help believing that quantity was to them the point of importance;[3] and when Valerius Maximus speaks of Fabius *Pictor* as occupied in a pursuit which he calls "sordid,"[4] I cannot but fear he expresses the general opinion of a people who had not, for the arts, that singular esteem without which neither great artists nor beautiful works are produced. Instead of founding genuine schools of painting and sculpture they allowed an immense traffic in art to be established, which filled the cities and palaces and villas with marbles produced at the lowest prices in the Greek and Asiatic studios, where work was done for exportation, and with paintings executed also by Greeks, either freedmen or else slaves, who gave at least an extreme gracefulness, if not grandeur to their figures and decorations. The Roman influence appears in sculpture only by one merit, to which the Greeks seem never to have given a serious thought:[5] their busts are portraits, and by the low, square foreheads, and the hard, obstinate faces, we easily recognize the race that subdued the nations of the earth. In statuary, as in every other respect, the Romans sacrificed the general to the special, art to nature, the ideal to the real; but it is only in the region of the ideal that we must seek that

[1] [I have noted elsewhere the parallel use of Dorie Greek for prescriptions at Athens, when the school of Croton was in fashion, *Social Life in Greece*, p. 278.—*Ed.*]

[2] The arts decline, Pliny well says (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 32) *quoniam rerum, non animi pretiis excubatur.*

[3] *Populus copiosissimus statuarum* (Cassiodorus, *Variar.*, vii. 13; *Acad. des inscr.*, vol. xxviii. p. 592). Otf. Müller, Raoul Rochette, and Jacobs admit this number.

[4] *Sordido studio . . . . deditum* (VIII. xiv. 6).

[5] Except in their "Iconic" statues, which were rare, since a man must have been victorious three times at Olympia to obtain one. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 9.) [And also in many famous busts of philosophers, as may be seen in the British Museum or at Naples.—*Ed.*]

primitive type of human beauty that God, it is said, "made in his own image," and Phidias found in Homer.

There is no doubt, however, that sculpture produced extremely beautiful works in the Roman epoch, from the statue of the Elder Agrippina in the Capitol, whose attitude is so proud and noble, down to those of Antinous which Hadrian multiplied throughout the Empire. But the hands were Greek that made them, as they

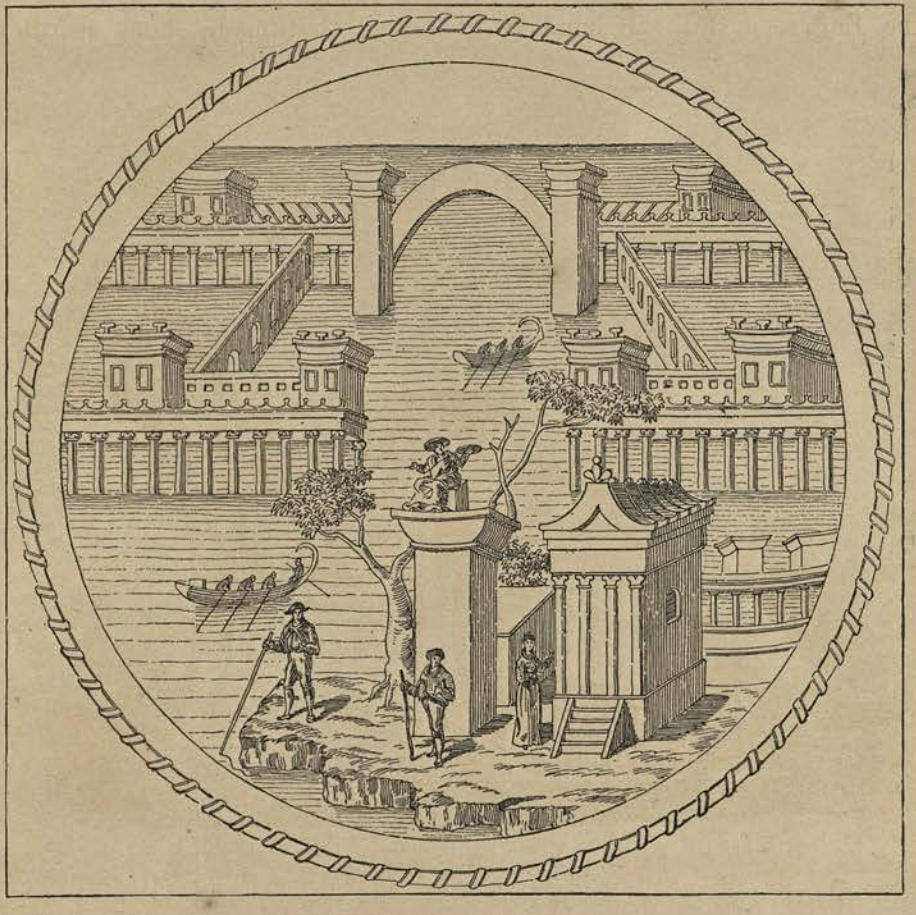
Agrippina (of the Capitol).

made also the beautiful engraved gems of which some bear the name of Dioscorides, and the magnificent cameos of Augustus, Germanicus, Tiberius, and Claudius, which are the ornament of our museums. This Dioscorides engraved the seal which the successors of Augustus used because the head of the prince was so perfect a likeness.

Painting was even less Roman than sculpture, if that be possible. The great pictures which were seen at Rome were spoils of war, except a few that had been purchased. Among the buyers

we mention with pleasure Agrippa;[1] and are compelled also to mention Tiberius for a work of Parrhasius.

Art cannot live long in servile hands. Vitruvius, in the time of Augustus, was already complaining of the bad taste of the painters, and a half century later Pliny said: "The art



Marine painting (from Pompeii).[2]

of painting is at the point of death. . . . . The painters are being driven out by marble-workers and gilders."[3] And what he himself relates explains this rapid decay: "In the time of Augustus," he says, "there was at Rome a certain Ludius who first conceived

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 4.

[2] Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 5th series, pl. 20.

[3] Vitruvius, vii. 3; and Pliny: *artis morientis . . . . ars nobilis . . . . nunc vero in totum marmoribus pulsa, jam quidem et auro* (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 1 and 11).

the idea of decorating the walls of houses with charming paintings. He represented there country houses, porticoes, trained shrubs, woods, thickets, hills, ponds, canals, streams, shores, as each man desired. Figures walked about or sailed in boats; arrived at the villa on donkeys or in carriages; fished or snared birds; hunted or harvested. Beautiful villas rose from the marshy shore; men carried women thither upon their shoulders, and as they walked

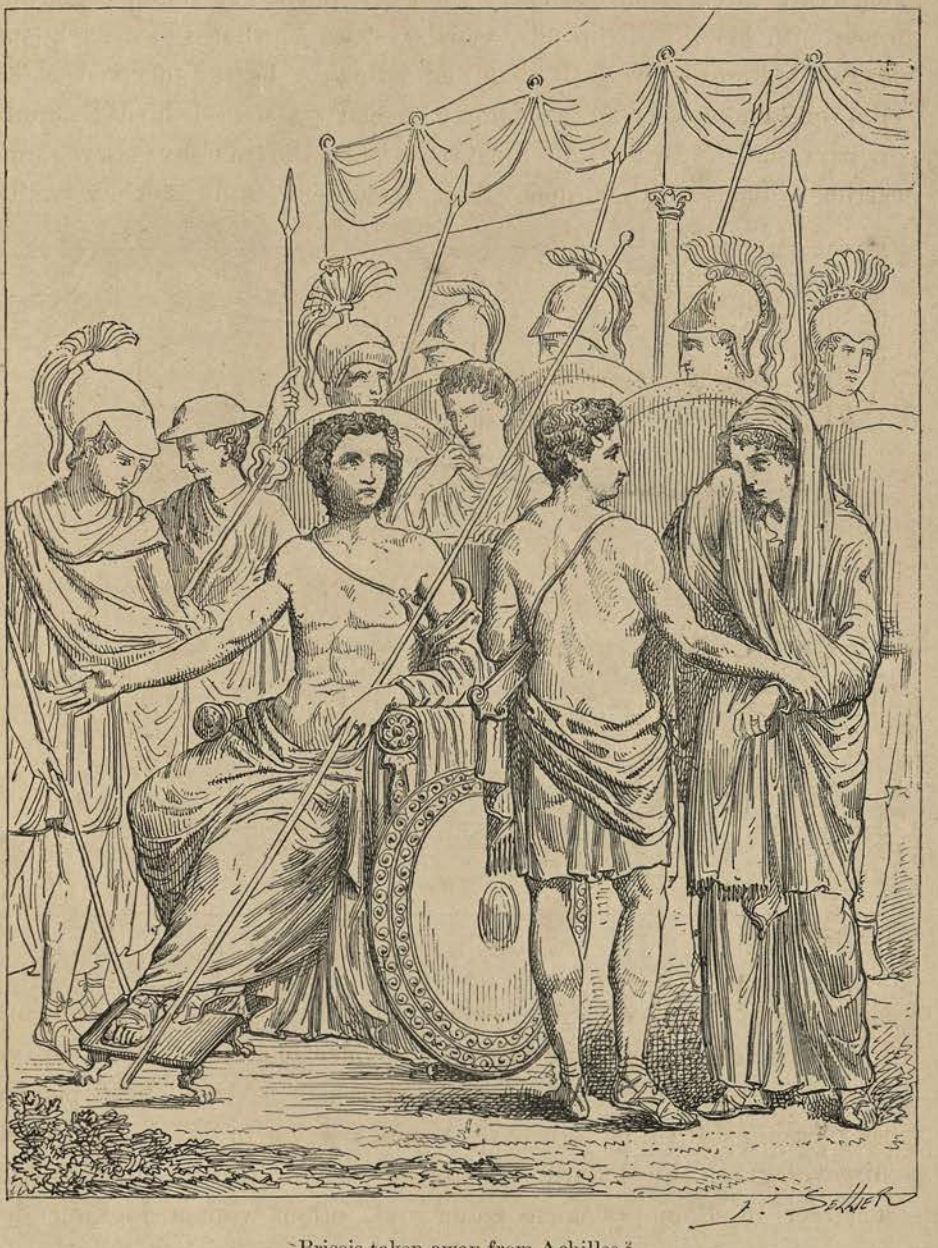
The Dealer in Loves (p. 204).[1]

slipped or stumbled. He paints in this style a thousand other ingenious or amusing subjects, and also maritime cities of very pleasant effect, and at very little expense." Alas! these paintings so pleasing to Pliny,[2] even to Augustus—for in his house recently discovered on the Palatine is to be seen a picture of this kind: a street in Rome, women going out, other women looking down

[1] From a painting discovered at Stabii in 1758. (Monaco, *le Musée national de Naples*, pl. 25.)

[2] *Amœnissimam picturam . . . . blandissimo aspectu . . . . argutiæ facetissimi salis* (*Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 37). Ancient Italy loved frescoes and painted illusions just as modern Italy does. From July, 1867, to May, 1879, 843 of them were discovered in Pompeii. (See catalogue of M. Sogliano in *Pompei e la regione sotterrata del Vesuvio*, 1879). In 1867, M. Helbig counted and described 1,968 paintings in Herculaneum and Pompeii.

from a balcony upon them[1] — these charming paintings were



Briseis taken away from Achilles.[2]

cheap, I admit, *minimo impendio*, but they were by no means art,

[1] See, p. 152, design of a fresco in the house of Livia.

[2] From a painting in Pompeii. (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. ii. 2nd series, pl. 72.) Achilles, surrounded by his myrmidons, looks at the youthful Briseis, who is led in by Patrocles.

and it is natural, this being their taste, that the Romans should have had artisans instead of artists. At the same time, we know that Raphael sought inspiration for the *Loggie* of the Vatican from arabesques found in the baths of Titus; and though the paintings in Pompeii were commonplace, some in Herculaneum and the Farnesina[1] are very graceful and charming, the *Dancing Girl*, for instance, the *Dealer in Loves*, *Briseis taken away from Achilles*, etc.

An art highly esteemed by the Romans of the present day, mosaic, covered in Italy and the provinces the pavement of the villas. They are found everywhere, and are extremely beautiful.[2] The *Battle of Issus*, discovered at Pompeii in 1831 in the house of the Faun, is justly celebrated.

III.—Law and Architecture.

There is one science in which the Romans have no rival and one art to which they gave, using former elements, a new form—architecture. But of these two glories of Rome, one is anonymous, for though we have grand edifices we have no great builder, one alone excepted, Apollodorus, the architect of Trajan and Hadrian; the other is attached to many names, but to no book. The *Digest*, in which is preserved for ever the juridic wisdom of Rome, has caused the loss of the innumerable volumes from which this wisdom was collected; they disappeared after their substance had been taken for the purpose of concentrating all in one impersonal work.[3]

Architecture and law having this in common, namely, that the originality of the Roman genius is exhibited in them rather than in literature, we have placed them together at the close of this chapter, disregarding the ordinary rules of classification. But

[1] The construction of the quays of the Tiber brought to light in 1879, in the gardens of the Farnesina, the remains of an expensive house of the last days of the Republic or of the Augustan period.

[2] We have given in preceding volumes the mosaics of Otricoli, Italica, and Constantine.

[3] With the exception of the *Institutes* of Gaius recovered by Niebuhr, the *Liber Regularum* of Ulpian, and the *Sententiæ* of Paulus. A very great number of eminent jurisconsults are named in the *Corpus juris*, but of their books only fragments remain. In the compilation of the *Pandects* or *Digest*, abstracts were made from 2,000 treatises on jurisprudence, and 3,000,000 sentences were reduced to 150,000.

since in the time of Augustus this science and this art are still in formation, we shall limit ourselves to pointing out the path upon which they enter, rather than describe their monuments, of which the most important did not yet exist.

Rome had at an early period the Twelve Tables, and the *jus Ælianum*, which contained their formulas and a commentary upon them.[1] Then, by the side of the decemviral laws, was developed a new legal system founded upon different principles. By their conquests the Romans came into relations with foreign nations, whose interests they were obliged as magistrates to regulate. The necessity was thus imposed upon them of comparing the different legislations, and on finding certain provisions everywhere existing they came to think that these had their foundation in human nature. They then understood the eternal rivalry which exists between the narrow law which the State decrees, *jus strictum*, and the natural equity, *æquum*, which humanity demands, which reason imposes, and which the ages progressively apply. From the union of these provisions, peculiar to certain nations, but in reality suited to all, they composed the common law of all civilized peoples, *jus gentium*, which was established, not instead of the older law, *jus civile*, but along with it. Scævola, the great jurisconsult, commenced this revolution[2] more than a century before the battle of Actium, and from his time equity was incessantly invoked to soften the rigour of the decemviral law, which, though never expressly abrogated, found itself by degrees transformed into a new code.

The most active agents in this transformation were the prætors. In respect to all things not regulated by law or usage, that is to say, in most cases, the Roman magistrates had within the limits of their office a discretionary power. In order to avoid the arbitrary they were required to make known by an edict, before taking office, the principles which they proposed to follow, and a Cornelian law (67 B.C.) prohibited them from disregarding this edict in their decisions. The larger part of what we should call

[1] See vol. i. 217 *sq.*

[2] See vol. ii. p. 275 *et supr.* Cicero says of the jurisconsult Sulpicius: *Jus civile semper ad æquitatem et facilitatem referebat* (*Philipp.*, iv. 5), and of Crassus: *Multa tum contra scriptum pro æquo et bono dixit* (*de Orat.*, i.).

the administrative law of Rome had no other basis than these edicts of the prætors. In them were inserted a crowd of rules of civil law, formulas of actions adapted to this or that contract; the prætors promised to intervene in certain cases to relieve from forfeitures or to grant privileges, to impose stipulations, to authorize legal possession, etc. If the letter of the law was opposed to the new principle which they sought to introduce, they escaped from the dilemma by a fiction. Thus the edict of the prætor appeared to be founded upon the civil law, while by judicious innovations it gave satisfaction to the new needs indicated by the jurisconsults, "in order to secure to a conquered world the best conditions of peace."[1]

There came a time when the edict of the prætor, the annual law, *lex annua*, as Cicero calls it, in the preparation of which the most experienced jurisconsults took part, formed a considerable body of laws. The larger part of the edict became traditional, *edictum tralaticium*, the new prætors, as a rule, respecting the work of their predecessors or limiting themselves to the addition or removal of a few articles. Thus was formed the prætorian right, mobile and supple, at the side of the immutable right of the Quiritary law.

At Rome, the censors, the consuls, the foreign prætor, and the curule ædiles—in the provinces, the magistrates sent out to govern them and the quæstors, all had the *jus edicendi*. To these multiplied sources of legislation must be added the laws voted by the centuries; the *plebiscita* voted by the tribes, although, contrary to the custom in modern states, legislation but rarely interposed to modify the civil law; and lastly, the decrees of the senate, which often regulated questions of private right touching on religious or administrative obligations, the finances, or the government.

There resulted from this variety in the sources of law a confusion which was avoided only by very profound learning. The study of the law became the Roman study *par excellence*, and its masters were the *wise* or the *jurisconsulti*.

[1] *Æneid*, vi. 852. Papinian says of the prætorian *jus*: . . . . *Est quod prætores introduxerunt, adjuvandi, vel supplendi vel corrigendi juris civilis gratia, propter utilitatem publicam* (*Digest*, I. i. fr. 7, § 1).

A jurisconsult was ordinarily a man of good family who, not having been able or not having chosen to become an orator, fled the tumults of the Forum and placed his learning at the disposal of those who wished to be enlightened on doubtful points, instructed as to the best forms of contracts or actions, or to be secured against the flaws which abounded in all legal procedures.[1] Horace shows us the gate of the jurisconsult besieged from early dawn, *sub galli cantum*, by an eager crowd of clients. He gives his advice with authority, and it is received with respect; these are oracles which he utters seated on his throne, for so was called the seat of this legal pontiff, *sacerdos juris*.[2] In civil cases his opinion usually ended the suit. "What is finer for an old man," Cicero exclaims, "after having passed through an honourable career, than to be able to distinguish himself at the close of his life, to direct by his counsels, if not peoples and kings like Apollo in Ennius, at least his fellow-citizens, and to say with the god, 'Are men in a state of uncertainty, I dissipate the cloud, I enlighten, I fortify their souls, and they walk no longer at random in the gloomy paths of life!'" Elsewhere the great orator, who was not always equally just towards the jurisconsults, gives this life the name of a civil militia, and rightly, for the lawyers of Rome conquered an empire vaster and more durable than that which her legions subdued.

Was it not they who, by their commentaries, made of the prætorian edict "the living voice of the civil law," and whose *responsa* and treatises furnished the most abundant material to the compilers of the Pandects? They established schools frequented by paying pupils, of which some became famous.[3] Under Augustus their authority increased. We have seen that this prince appointed official jurisconsults, whose *responsa* were given in the emperor's name, and these jurists had the duty, as Gaius strongly expresses it, "of making the law," that is, by determining the meaning of texts.

The most famous of the jurists of that time was Labeo. It would be satisfactory to have a portrait of this learned man, whose

[1] This is what Cicero expresses in three words: *respondebant, scribebant, cavebant.*

[2] *Digest*, i. *pr.* § 1. [*Solium* was the word.—*Ed.*]

[3] *Stationes jus docentium* (Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.*, XIII. xiii. 1).

father, the friend of Brutus, killed himself after Philippi, but we have neither his life nor his works. It is said that he refused to accept the consulship at the hands of the emperor, whom he esteemed but did not love: we know that he occupied only the office of prætor, and his haughty reply to Lepidus on the subject is historic.[1] He composed more than forty treatises, one of which was a commentary on the Twelve Tables, and numerous fragments of them are preserved in the Pandects.

Labeo and his rival Capito, who was much in favour with Augustus and Tiberius, were the chiefs of the two schools of jurisprudence, the Proculiani and Sabiniani, which in the end were merged in the vast unity of the Roman law.[2] It is not without interest to notice, as yet another trait of the restoration attempted by Augustus, that his favourite jurist stood out for the old laws, interpreted literally, and in a narrow and rigorous sense, while the son of the man who lost at Philippi sought more freely for the spirit of the early laws, and yielded more to the new principles which reason, applied to the interests of the eternal city, revealed.

The Roman jurists have great merits: a comprehension of social needs so clear that they were able to foresee the forms these needs would take; a reasoning so close that they drew from the text all its necessary consequences; a method so rigorous that it may be compared to that of the geometers; that it has given the laws of Rome the appellation of "written reason;" and lastly, a clear, precise, simple style, almost like that of an inscription, which seems designed to leave nothing to arbitrary or sophistical interpretation. But, it must be owned, these *prudentes* are too reticent, and the jurists of Rome do not belie the general character of the Roman mind, that is to say, a common-place tone and the lack of philosophic views. Was Gaius a Stoic? and did Ulpian belong to the Epicurean sect? It is so thought by some, but no one can affirm it; we may say, however, that the legal mind which analyzes, discusses, and classifies is the opposite of the Stoic, which establishes no difference between a mortal sin and the most trifling misconduct. The

[1] See p. 168.

[2] Cf. Pomp. (*Digest*, i. 2, 47), and Tac. (*Ann.*, iii. 75).

jurisconsults of Rome search out texts and not matters like these, sublime truths or dangerous delusions, pure gold or worthless dross, which are only found outside the beaten paths. Their genius is altogether practical, and their utility is their glory. After all, this definition of jurisprudence, *Ars boni et æqui*, and these three precepts: To live honestly, to injure no man, and to render to each what is his due, are more useful for the ordinary conduct of life than the most brilliant creations of the philosophic mind. The ideal of the Greeks is the beautiful, τὸ καλόν; that of the Romans is the honourable, *honestum*, that is, all that promoted personal dignity. If we must grant that in the work of the ancient civilization the Greeks have the most beautiful part: thought, art, and science, the Romans have certainly the most useful, the law, with, however, an important reservation, namely, that this law, so equitable for the interests of each man, was placed by the jurists under the principle of the emperor's absolute authority, *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet*, thus becoming the instrument of despotism in the Roman Empire, and later in modern monarchies.

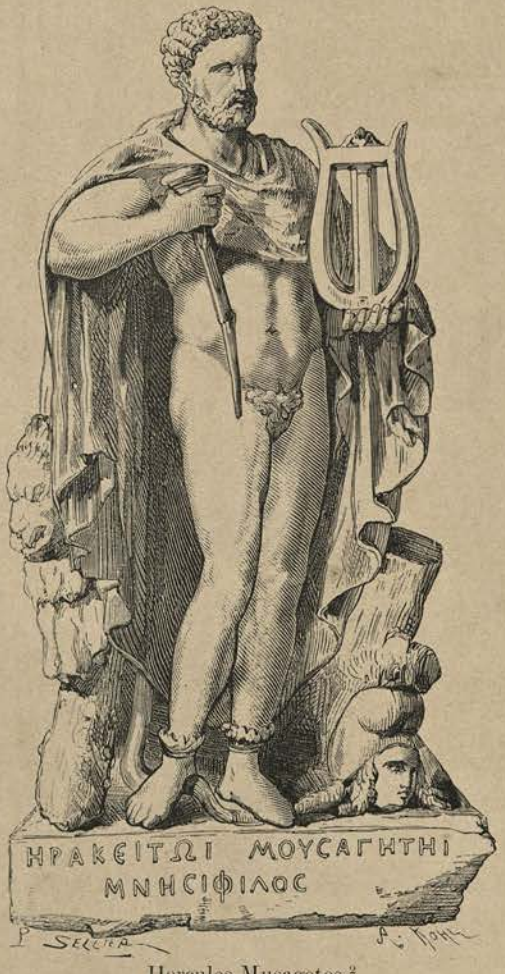
But with the evil came its remedy. All this legislation is animated with a reasonable spirit which some day will destroy the principle of the emperor's absolute right; and it is chiefly to the Roman laws that Latin Europe owes that philosophic, or rather socialistic, spirit which has had its highest expression in France.

From Rome's greatest science we pass to architecture, her favourite art. If we except the wall of Servius, the Cloaca Maxima, the aqueducts, the military roads, the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, the theatre, the portico, the curia of Pompey, and, on the Appian Way, the strange tomb of Cæcilia Metella (*Capo di Bove*), ancient Rome had but few great constructions. Julius Cæsar began the building of monumental Rome with his Forum and his temple of Venus Genitrix, with his Basilica, which Augustus completed, and especially with his great Circus.[1] Cæsar sent home from Gaul to Æmilius Paulus 8,000,000 sesterces to complete a five-naved basilica, which was decorated with a prodigious quantity of columns of Phrygian marble, and he aided

[1] Seven hundred yards long, 300 broad, surrounded by a two-storied portico, where were placed two obelisks which, in 1587, were found twenty-four feet under ground.

Curio in the building of two contiguous theatres, which a powerful mechanism caused to turn when filled with spectators, so as to inclose an arena for the combats of the amphitheatre.

Augustus promoted all work of this kind. He enumerates his constructions proudly in his Testament.[1]



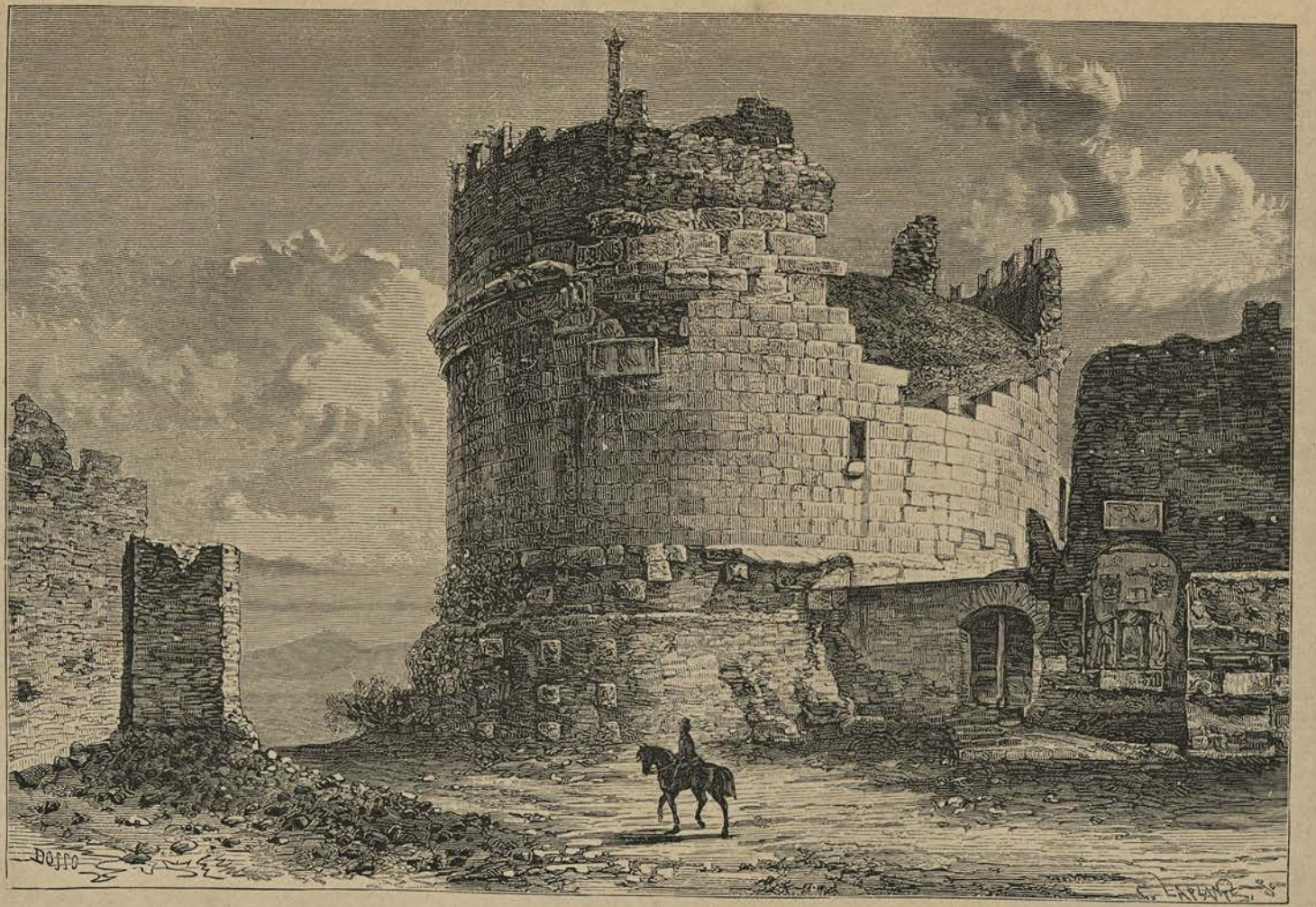
Hercules Musagetes.[2]

Many persons of importance followed his example in order to gain his favour. Mæcenas improved the sanitary condition of the Esquiline, and built a palace there surrounded with splendid gardens; when to this the emperor added a grove and a basilica with spacious galleries, this place, destined for the punishment and burying-place of slaves, became one of the most beautiful promenades in Rome. Temples were built by Philippus to the Hercules of the Muses; by Cornificius, to Diana; by Plancus, to Saturn. Balbus erected a theatre whose ruins themselves alone make the *Monte Cenci;* Taurus, an amphitheatre, which some day will perhaps be discovered under the *Monte Giordano;* Pollio, the *Atrium Libertatis;* and in the valley which lies between the Quirinal and the Pincio, Sallust laid out his famous gardens.[3] It is to be wished that we could describe the theatre of Marcellus, which, with its three orders, one over the

[1] [Cf. above, p. 161.]

[2] From Montfaucon, vol. I, 2nd part, pl. 137, fig. 1. See in vol. ii. p. 62, another Hercules Musagetes, from an engraved stone in the *Cabinet de France.*

[3] The *Horti Sallustiani* became imperial property, and one of the beautiful statues of Antinous has been found there.



Tomb of Cæcilia Metella, on the Appian Way.

other,[1] and its portico and summit a colonnade, must have been one of the most remarkable buildings in Rome.

The Pantheon of Agrippa, however, stands in all its perfection. In the interior this round temple awakens admiration by its great dome, the largest existing, which seems to rest upon the ground,

The Pantheon, according to du Pérac, in 1575.

as at the horizon the dome of the sky seems to rest upon the earth.[2] At the top it opens with an orifice twenty-seven feet in diameter, so that the enormous mass seems to be balanced by some miracle, and the entire temple is lighted only from the top. It was evidently Agrippa's design that the first monument of the new Rome should symbolize the world whereof the Empire of Augustus

[1] The placing of different orders one above another was a Roman invention. It was never done in Greece. [A second story of pillars was not uncommon.—*Ed.*]

[2] The arch does not go down to the ground; it rests upon a *podium* or circular wall, 73 feet in height.

occupied the larger part.[1] The single eye of this dome of stone is at such a height from the ground that in spite of its wide aperture the temperature of the building never changes. "The most violent storms send down scarcely a breath upon the head of one standing beneath, and in a shower you will see the rain fall vertically upon the pavement of the rotunda and trace a wet circle there. The cylinder of drops falling through the space of this great building makes one conscious how immense it is. It is in conceptions like these that the Roman was truly great."[2] Unfortunately the multiplicity of details in the ornamentation enfeebles the general effect. Such was the quantity of bronze found in it that Pope Urban VIII., after much had been taken away, still found enough there to cast a number of cannon and the immense baldachin in S. Peter's. But it must be owned, this allegory in stone, majestic from the interior, from the exterior appears flat and heavy. It has been well said by M. Ch. Blanc (*Grammaire des Arts du Dessin*, p. 86): " . . . A cupola, seen from without, by its curve deprives you of a part of its extent, since, instead of developing itself, it enfolds itself, and appears less in size than it is. Only its diameter is seen as it really is. A singular thing is that a rectangular temple like that at Pæstum is made larger by its outlines, while a circular one is made smaller, so that the two buildings deceive the eye in opposite ways, the one concealing its smallness, the other its size."

Nor was the site happily chosen; it was near the old Goat's Pool, the place where Romulus, on being assassinated, was made a god. Tradition recommended this corner of the Campus Martius, where there was already another heavy edifice, the Thermæ of Agrippa, which was close to the Pantheon. The Greeks certainly would never have built it there, for they understood that buildings gain much from the site, but Agrippa, who was the least Greek[3]

[1] *Illa inclyta Roma*
Imperium terris, animos æquabit Olympo.
(Virgil, *Æneid*, vi. 781–2.)

[2] Viollet-le-Duc, *Entretiens sur l'Architecture.*

[3] *Vir rusticitati proprior quam deliciis* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxv. 4). Two things diminish much the effect of the Pantheon: the region about it having been raised, you go down to the building instead of going up to it; and, secondly, the stucco or marble with which it was covered externally having fallen off the wall appears in its nudity, showing the poor material of bricks of which it is made, without doubt concealed by Agrippa. In the *Piante iconografiche*

of all the Romans, proposed to obtain his effect from the imposing mass of the building rather than from the elegance of its proportions or the fitness of its surroundings.

This circular form reappears again in the tomb of Cæcilia Metella and in the mausoleum of Augustus, a great pyramidal tower covered with white marble and as high (100 mètres) as it was broad at the base, but divided into three stories by retreating steps, each of which was planted with cypress-trees. On the top the statue of Augustus surmounted a small round temple in which stood an urn destined to contain the emperor's ashes. The conqueror of Egypt doubtless wished for himself a tomb resembling the royal sepulchres of Memphis; unless, perhaps, the architect found the suggestion of his monument at the gates of Rome in that tomb of *Capo di Bove*, so easily turned into a fortress by the mediæval engineers.[1]

After all these constructions Augustus boasted that he had left a city marble which he had found brick. The eulogy is merited; Augustus, without doubt, put much marble into Rome, but did his architects put there a Roman art, and what place does that art hold in the general history of architectural ideas? The question is so necessary in the study we are making of the character of the Roman society that we shall be pardoned for delaying upon it for a moment.[2]

The art of the Greeks is marvellously simple and strictly logical. To them the exterior of the building is given by the

di Roma anteriori al secolo XVI., published in 1880 by M. Rossi, the Pantheon is raised by five steps at the entrance and four in the entire circumference; but I believe this design to be an arbitrary restoration of an artist about the close of the 15th century. All the plans of the 16th century represent the base of the Pantheon as lower than the adjacent ground.

[1] The temple of Mars Bisultor, built by Augustus on the Capitol to contain the standards of Crassus, was also round but very small. The excavations made since 1861 by M. Pietro Rosa in the Farnese gardens upon the Palatine, where at the close of the last century was found the house of Augustus, have brought to light the remains of the temples of Jupiter Victor and Jupiter Stator, some courses of the wall of *Roma quadrata*, and more recently the house of Livia. The walls of many rooms are covered with stucco and with the best mural paintings left us by antiquity. This house of the empress is extremely small and simple, confirming what historians relate of the modest habits of the prince.

[2] Hegel says: "A people may have absolutely disappeared from the earth and from history, leaving behind them but a single monument, and this monument may permit us to penetrate the recesses of their thoughts." Had we, for example, but the Thermæ of Caracalla and the Coliseum of Titus, we should understand at least half the character of the Roman society of their time.

building itself, as in the human figure the envelope depends upon the bony framework, which it reproduces, softening it by harmonious lines. The Greek temple is a unit, structure and ornamentation coming from a single idea. Thus one of Plato's ideas, as it were, creates spontaneously the form which expresses it.

The Romans are not artists of this kind; they love the beautiful and employ it, but they always make it subservient to the useful, and this preoccupation sometimes destroys the unity of the plan. Many of their edifices seem to have had two architects, the one constructing, the other decorating; one preparing the skeleton of the building, the other adding the decorating envelope.

Rich, mighty, and numerous, the Romans desired to have in their vast capital monuments corresponding to their Empire; like it, imposing by their mass much more than by the ideas which they awaken, and overloaded with borrowed ornament, as their literature is a reflection from Greece, and their elegance an exotic luxury stolen from Tarentum and Syracuse, from the kings of Macedon, Syria, and Egypt.

What was this mausoleum of Augustus? A mass of earth and stone, of trees and columns, everywhere betraying effort and an attempt at grace, as if the architect had sought to trick out a Pharaonic pyramid to please the taste of the fine gentlemen of Rome. And this Pantheon of Agrippa, so heavy and massive, this challenge to all future builders,[2] never became a mighty work of art, speaking to the eye and to the mind, till Michael Angelo took it to place it on the summit of S. Peter's.

Coin of Selinus.[1]

[1] ΣΕΛΙΝΟ. Apollo standing, holding a patera and a branch of laurel. On the reverse, ΣΕΛΙΝΟΝΤΙΟΝ. Apollo, discharging an arrow, in a biga driven by Diana. Tetradrachm of Selinus.

[2] The dome of S. Paul's in London is 34 mètres in diameter; that of Saint Sophia, 35; of S. Peter's and of the Duomo in Florence, 42; and of Agrippa's Pantheon, 43. In Paris the dome of the Invalides is but 23 and of the Pantheon but 21. [But the domes of S. Paul's and S. Peter's are placed high in the air and start from the roof, whereas Agrippa's is set almost on the ground.—*Ed.*]

The Greek crowned Cape Sunium with an edifice, and carried the Parthenon to the top of the Acropolis, he built the temple of Apollo on the rocks of Parnassus, and those of Agrigentum and Selinus on the hills which were the rampart to those cities, with the design that the gods from their sanctuaries should be able to embrace in their glance the harbour and all the people placed under their protection.[1] If he were obliged to build on a plain he at least isolated the building, and gave it, as at Pæstum, the

Remains of the Library and of the Public Palace (p. 219).

sea for a background, or, as at Olympia, a smiling landscape for its frame.

The Roman cares little if chance places his temples in low sites where air and space are lacking, and their mass is not clear-cut in the light which bathes the hill-tops. He has nine hills, each one of which is a natural pedestal for an architectural work, and, with the sole exception of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, which he was compelled to place within the fortress of the Capitol, he accumulates them all in the Forum and the Campus

[1] At Corinth the old Doric temple stood upon the slope of the hill which bore the citadel; at Rhamnus it was built at the extremity of a plateau descending to the sea with an abrupt slope; at Crotona, Metapontum, and Syracuse the same arrangement was made; at Eleusis it was situated on the levelled top of a rock on the slope of a hill overlooking the bay.

Martius, originally two swamps. These temples were vowed during battles to obtain the favour of a god; the god has the dwelling which was promised to him, and that is enough.[1]

But for himself the Roman is more exacting. If he is rich he will place his country house in some lovely spot on the hills of Tibur or Tusculum, looking down into a smiling valley, or facing that Bay of Naples which never palls upon the admiring eye. In his city he requires buildings convenient for his pleasures

A Roman Villa.[2]

or his business, and public buildings capable of sheltering multitudes because his sky is sometimes inclement, and of lodging the various branches of the public service because his wants are numerous.

He therefore builds:

Basilicas, with nave and aisles, for judges, advocates, suitors, and dealers;

[1] However, after Augustus had built upon the Palatine around his house, this hill must have presented an imposing sight.

[2] From a Pompeian painting (Roux, *Herculanum et Pompéi*, vol. iii. 5th series, pl. 32).

Porticoes, where the "royal people" may parade, sheltered from sun or rain, their idle royalty;[1]

Libraries and *museums*, because they have this taste common to polite societies of enjoying other men's wit;[2]

Palaces and enchanting *villas*, where the emperors and consuls live and the millionaire freedmen;

Circuses and *theatres*, often too large when a play of Terence

Porta Tiburtina (now S. Lorenzo's).

is performed, and *amphitheatres* never too large, since there the Roman finds his chief delight, the hunting of men;

Monumental *gates* to adorn the entrance to the city, and thick *walls* for its defence; *sewers* to keep it wholesome, and *aqueducts* to bring from the mountains the clear, fresh water which the

[1] In the Campus Martius it was possible to walk nearly three miles under the porticoes.

[2] Publius Victor enumerates in his list twenty-nine public libraries at Rome.

Tiber cannot supply,[1] and even *tunnels* to catch the springs in the heart of the hills;[2]

Military roads and *bridges*, by means of which the soldiers and merchants and the sovereign will of Rome might readily make their way from the centre of the Empire to its extremities;

Triumphal arches, to receive its victorious legions on their return, and *votive columns*, to keep alive the memory of distant expeditions;

Barracks for its standing army, and *diribitoria* for the distributions made to its beggar populace;

And lastly, *thermæ*,[3] where are collected all the refinements of idleness and southern luxury. At all hours of the day the crowd gathers there, seeking in the marble basins and the perfumed halls air and water of every temperature. Then, the body being well rubbed with oil and the limbs supple, the Roman walks slowly, amid a population of statues, through gardens cooled by fountains, or takes his exercise in the *palæstra*, unless he prefer to read under a portico, in some solitary corner, or to listen, in the academic halls adorned with precious mosaics, to rhetoricians declaiming, to philosophers discussing, or to some poet soliciting for his lame verses the facile applause of an indolent audience.

The Greeks created an incomparable religious architecture, and a statuary of gods and heroes which expresses the divine; they have established in construction the eternal principles of the beautiful, and for this reason Greek art will for ever remain

[1] The aqueducts of Rome, counting those only which are mentioned by Frontinus, were about 270 miles in length, of which 30 were upon arches. These arches, which were very expensive constructions, could have been avoided by the use of pipes, as Frontinus recommended; but the people were indifferent to the cost when it was a question of display, and rather than hide their conduits of water under the ground they caused them to traverse the Roman Campagna upon majestic arches. They, however, frequently employed pipes. For the construction of the aqueducts the law allowed the taking of material from the adjacent country upon the payment of indemnities to the proprietors, the amount being settled by arbitration. A strip of land, fifteen feet wide, was reserved on each side for the service of the aqueduct; this was the *servitus aquæductuum*.

[2] At Antibes a tunnel nearly 5,000 mètres in length was excavated. Later we shall speak of the outlet of Lake Fucinus.

[3] In the time of Constantine there were fifteen thermæ in Rome. Those of Agrippa, behind the Pantheon, occupied an area equal to half the Palatine hill, about 36,000 mètres. The baths of Caracalla covered a space six times greater, that of a considerable town. See Blouet, *les Thermes de Caracalla*, who gives a fine restoration of them.

the pure and sacred spring.[1] The Romans claim a different honour: they have created civil architecture and of public utility, so that if we are bound to the former by that which is highest—ideas, we are bound to the latter by that which is very imperious—needs. There is no man of us who would not prefer to have been a Greek; but we are very glad that the Romans existed.

A first difference has been shown in the employment of the art; there are others produced by the nature of the materials employed in construction.

Thanks to Pentelicus, Hymettus, and Paros, the Athenians built with marble, and used this stone with such skill that, after twenty-three centuries, one must look closely to find the seams in the columns or the walls; every layer is added by the hand of an artist. The soil of Latium, on the contrary, condemned the Romans to build in brick, consolidated with rubble and ties of stone, which an artisan, intelligently directed, was well able to lay.[2] But the Greek temple could only be built where, as in Greece, the earth contained marble or limestone easily wrought. The Romans were able to build everywhere, because they could always find stone for the facing, or at least obtain ashlar and rubble, earth for bricks, lime for their indestructible cement, and hands to do the work. From this it resulted that, with materials so easily used and yet so durable, there was nothing to prevent them from giving their public buildings those colossal proportions which are not always one of the conditions of beauty, but from which the artist can obtain very imposing effects.

Thus the great charm of the Roman Campagna is above all in those immense aqueducts which, descending from the hills of Tivoli and Albano, traverse with so much grace and majesty the

[1] I mean the spring whence the artist obtains inspiration, not the model which he should servilely copy, for architecture is required in each country to modify its forms in accordance with the conditions of light, of temperature, of dryness or humidity, which constitute the climate. A Greek edifice, a Greek statue even, is incongruous in St. Petersburg, although in architecture and in sculpture the same principles must be employed there which were discovered or applied in Greece, just as, in order to reason well, a man must reason after the methods of Socrates and Aristotle, whatever be the language in which he speaks.

[2] This is the mode of construction indicated by Vitruvius, ii. 8. Brick is eternal, he says, and with truth.

Latin plain. Some half-destroyed hall in the baths of Caracalla has in its desolation an imposing grandeur; and the Coliseum, built of brick and Tiburtine stone, produces upon one an impression more profound than that made by the pyramids of Ghizeh.

As is a people, so will be their art; the domination of Rome shows itself in these roads, going straight on, like her will, without turning aside for any obstacle,[1] and in these constructions, massive and destitute of grace—I was about to say, destitute of art—which show so much strength, rise so high, and weigh so heavily upon the earth which bears them.

The architecture of the Romans, lending itself to all the needs of civil life, spread like their language, laws, and manners, throughout western Europe, where it, like them, has left imperishable traces; and where the ruler has been sufficiently liberal, or citizens and a city rich enough to use hewn stone instead of the brick, or to decorate the edifice with precious marbles, the ruins of their buildings are worthy to be compared with the grandest and most beautiful of the world.

This character of materials enabled the Romans to add to Greek art new elements: the arch and vault, borrowed by them from the Etruscans. The Greeks were acquainted with the vault, which existed in the East in the earliest times, for example, in Nineveh and Egypt; but they did not employ it because it interfered with their combinations, at once so simple and beautiful, of vertical and horizontal surfaces and lines; perhaps, also, because the vault requires strong abutments, which require much strength, space, and material.[3] The Greek is economical, not after the fashion of the early Roman, who reckoned even with his gods, but as an artist who knows that nature never expends more strength than

[1] Thus these roads, whose *agger* or road-bed was a solid construction averaging over three feet in depth, had grades of ·15 to ·20 per mètre and embankments over the marshes, rising in some places to 39½ feet for a distance of 12 miles, as in a part of the Appian Way made by Trajan, with culverts, viaducts, and tunnels like that of Furlo, which Vespasian built under the Apennines for the Flaminian Way. In France alone have been made in twenty-five years 440 tunnels, with a length in all of 120 miles; but we possess powerful means of attack, while the Romans, having neither powder, nor dynamite, nor perforating machines, were obliged to depend solely upon the pick and the wedge.

[2] Lübke, *Geschichte der Architectur*, p. 157.

[3] The little monument of Lysicrates at Athens is roofed with a cupola. The temple of Æsculapius at Epidauros, the rotunda of Epimenides at Sparta, and the Prytaneium at Athens were also circular buildings, but the vault is an exception in Greek architecture.

Tivoli.

she has need of, and that art should seek to produce, like nature, great effects with small efforts.

The arch and the vault added to the column and architrave give room for new combinations: the round arch and the broken arch, of which the Western mediæval period made the Norman and the Gothic; and the cupola, which in the East became the special characteristic of the Arab and Byzantine styles.

The pillage of the world permitted Rome to lavish upon her edifices of the Forum and the Campus Martius the rarest marbles, and all the quarries of the Empire were worked for her; a considerable store[1] of these marbles has been found even on the road to Ostia; but private individuals and provincial cities, even Rome herself, often built in rubble and brick. To conceal under rich materials the sombre masses and dull outlines of the useful materials, they united all the decorative elements that the Greeks and Etruscans had invented, devised more, and employed them all in profusion. Hence so many columns, entablatures, small arches, and architraves, even in places where they contradict the general plan;[2] so much precious marble applied in panels to the walls, so many panelled ceilings, so much stucco, bearing elegant paintings, sculptures, and ornaments of metal, chiselled ivory, mother-of-pearl, pearls, and even gems; and, lastly, all these mosaics, which may be indeed a great labour, but are never a great art.[3]

In the time of the Republic the Doric order prevailed in the temples: it was thought to be too severe; the Ionic, with its light spirals, appeared too delicate; and, under Augustus, these parvenus in art could not be satisfied with less than the exuberant richness of the Corinthian. "Thou couldst not render Venus beautiful," was said by some one to a poor imitator of Phidias; "thou hast made her rich." It is the method the Italians have

[1] Specimens of marbles which are now lost are found there. The quarries of Carrara, worked from Cæsar's time (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, i. 36), possibly sooner (Strabo, i. 5, 22), rivalled those of Paros and Pentelicus. Mamurra, the *præfectus fabrum* of Cæsar, decorated his house on Mount Cælius with these marbles.

[2] Ch. Blanc, *Gramm. des Arts du Dessin*, p. 270.

[3] All Pompeii was covered with stucco. This is true, however, of many of the Greek temples. See in Suetonius the description of Nero's Golden House. [Any one who has seen the Ravenna mosaics will not agree with the author.—*Ed.*]

followed in many of their churches, and it seems to suit also the administrative display of our great halls and the vain desires of our sudden fortunes.

Thus the Romans cast over their edifices of brick or stone a splendid garment, a floating drapery not always following the movements of the body. To the Pantheon, where all lines are curved, all surfaces concave, Agrippa attached a rectilinear portico, which cannot make part of the edifice. It is supported by Corinthian columns which are monoliths, and it is rich and imposing, but at the same time absolutely out of place.[1]

This tendency of the Romans to consider the structure and the decoration apart has had disastrous consequences. Condemned to a subordinate existence, art became a trade, and after languishing for some time disappeared. At the end of the century of the Antonines it is sought for, and rarely to be found; later there are only builders who know how to move enormous masses of stone, and even audaciously to carry them to prodigious heights, but who are unskilled in decorating them. Science remains because it is transmissible, and when it is supported by the religious sentiment it still produces very grand effects; art, which is personal and very delicate of nature, did not survive the barbarism of manners; it came back to life only at the breath of the Renaissance, which called antiquity from its grave. Since that epoch, when a charming art bloomed which was too soon abandoned, Roman architecture again found favouring social conditions, and it is this style which to the present day has been dominant in European buildings.

Now we can easily answer the question asked at the beginning. The Romans were not creative artists.[2] Nevertheless, in composing from borrowed elements an art which they have carried from the Petra of the Nabathæans to the Lutetia of the Parisii—an art whence proceeds, by natural generation, a portion of Christian and

[1] This is the opinion of Viollet-le-Duc, of Dr. Schnaase (*Ist diese Vorhalle ein Zusatz, ein angefügter Schmuck, der nicht aus dem Ganzen hervorgegangen ist,* vol. ii. p. 352), and is the involuntary feeling of every spectator. M. Ch. Blanc well says: "Architecture is not a construction that is decorated, but a decoration that is constructed."

[2] We must further add that their architects were Greeks. Pliny asks for one from Trajan to carry on the works at Nicæa; the emperor replies (*Epist.*, x. 49): "Look in Greece;" *ex Græcia etiam architecti ad nos venire soliti sunt.*

of Mussulman art, which prevails among us by reason of its easy adaptation to our wants and our tastes, which, lastly, though lacking in the highest elements of beauty, yet expresses grandeur and power—the architects of Rome deserve a place beside her legists and her writers. The laws, the literature, and the edifices of Rome are indeed the legacy of a great Empire.

At the same time, this Roman heritage is not that of a society which aspired to that ideal, the mere search for which for ever does honour to those who pursue it. If, in fact, we consider this society in its whole intellectual life, we are forced to recognize that it had neither philosophy nor science, although it came after the magnificent development of the sciences and of philosophy in the Hellenic world; that it would be without art had not the Greeks brought to it their marbles, their pictures, their statues, with what was left of their genius; that its literature, brilliant as it is, lacks the creative breath; that its festivals were the obscenities of the comic drama and the sanguinary games of the amphitheatre; that its religion was less an act of gratitude and adoration than a sort of constraint exercised upon the gods to secure their favours.[1] Moreover, notwithstanding Horace and Virgil and the architects of the "marble Rome" of Augustus, Roman gravity seems to us heavy; this practical genius, for ever directed towards utility, seems to be held down by its own weight in those mid regions of thought whence never spring the electric flashes that light up the world; and in the general history of civilization this people descends from the first to the second rank of nations, but it descends, like Moses, bearing in its hands the tables of the law.

It is an imperishable honour for the Romans that they founded the civil law, as the Jews wrote the religious law, and the Greeks that of thought and art.[2] But we who desire to be—and who are—at once the heirs of Rome, Jerusalem, and Athens, should not forget the lesson which springs for us from this study of the genius of the Romans at the finest epoch of their history,

[1] . . . . *Obligat ille* (Augustus) *deos* (Ovid, *Fast.*, ii. 62).

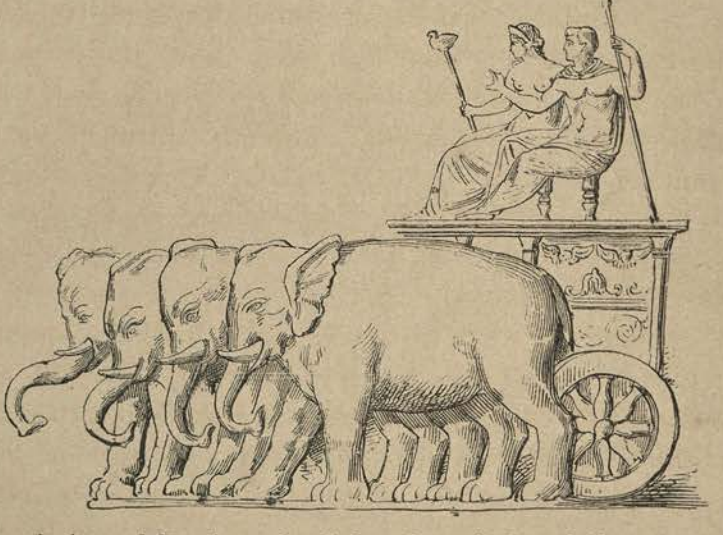
[2] The Greek Orders and the Canon of Polycletus were the laws of architecture and statuary, as the *Organon* of Aristotle remained till the time of Bacon and Descartes the rule which guided reason in the search for truth and its exposition to others.

and by this memorable example should learn how great is the loss of enthusiasm, and impulse to the genius of a people when they abandon those high theoretic speculations which the crowd call valueless. Another great empire whose rulers at one time divided the world with the Roman Cæsars, China, presents in its history the same taste for utilizing all knowledge, the same disdain for pure science. Both have been condemned to see their civilization stand still; while Attica, that little corner of earth scarce visible between the two colossi, has shared in the movement of the world.

However, if in originality and power the Age of Augustus falls below that of Pericles, and in art and boldness of thought below the Renaissance; if the Age of Louis XIV. is more complete, and in certain regards superior, this period was nevertheless one of those brilliant epochs of humanity in which it is a pleasure to take refuge from the cares of impending age and from the griefs of one's country.[1]

[1] This chapter was written in Paris, November and December, 1870.

[2] Reverse of a coin of Nerva (enlarged).



Jupiter and Juno in a triumphal car drawn by four elephants.[2]

CHAPTER LXXI.

THE WORK OF AUGUSTUS AND THE CHARACTER OF THE NEW EMPIRE.

I.—Augustus Accomplishes an Inevitable Revolution but he does not Organize.

THE years following the battle of Actium were the critical period of the ancient world. Upon the direction then taken by Roman civilization depended the future of innumerable generations. Would it turn towards the East, and fall back into the ways of the Asiatic monarchies, or towards the West, and take up the federal and free institutions of the Greek, Italian, and Gallic races? Would the conquering city remain under its master a sovereign and privileged city, or was it about to become a great state, having solidarity in all its parts, in whose midst the coming of the modern nations should be peacefully prepared? This was the problem which presented itself to the founder of the Empire, unless he should prefer, like the man of mere ambition, to make himself the servant of events and follow them with self-seeking docility while constantly turning them to his own advantage.

We have examined in the preceding chapters the work of Augustus, and by the care which he took in preparing the memoirs of his life, a summary of which was engraved on the walls of temples, we must believe that he expected public gratitude.

This gratitude he merited from his contemporaries, for it was a great thing to have given to that vexed world a half-century of peace; but does he merit it equally from posterity?

It has been the practice at once unduly to exalt and unduly to depreciate this man. His long prosperity did not depend upon favourable chances, for fortune serves those only who know how

to control her; and these persons are of two sorts: the strong and the skilful, the latter not so great as the former, but, in some circumstances, more useful. Of this number was Augustus. He sought to render durable the domination established by Cæsar, after having reconquered it. He occupied almost a half-century in gently leading Rome to royalty, while four years sufficed Napoleon to go from the consulship to the Empire; but in France the old institution was monarchy, and though ideas were opposed to it, manners tended that way; at Rome, it was a republic, and the memory of that institution was hard to efface. It was necessary to bring manners, ideas, laws, and administration into harmony with the new order of things. Upon manners—those, I mean, of public life—Augustus acted through Mæcenas, through Sallust, and through all those of his friends who were disinclined to accept office and exhibited traits fitting them for the work: no ambition, no intrigue, a disinterestedness either sincere or affected, and a limitless docility—turning attention and hope away from the Curia and the Forum, where nothing was now done, and towards the royal palace, where all things were given away. Upon ideas, he acted through Horace, and through Virgil nobly conquered to his cause, and only paid a legitimate debt when he swore by the Muses, for, under his reign, they were monarchical. Lastly, by his laws, his regulations, and his vigilance, he caused justice to prevail in the administration, order in the finances, peace in the provinces, gathering up all power into his own hands, but so discreetly that he made himself appear to be merely the first citizen in the Republic, and was great while affecting to be humble.

We have read in his Testament what he himself thought of the nature of his authority, or, at least, what he wished others to think: "After having suppressed the civil wars, I gave back the government to the senate and the Roman people; . . . from this time, although I surpassed all other citizens in public consideration, I had no more power than those who were my colleagues in the magistracies."

This was really his last thought, for he adds: "When I wrote these lines I was in my seventy-sixth year." Still, we cannot believe that the great deceiver was himself deceived by

the falsehood of his life. He perfectly knew that he was master, and that absolutely; but he desired to lead astray the judgment of posterity, and by a just return, that posterity reproaches him for the hypocrisy of a policy that had in it no grandeur.

Peace.[2]

A revolution is justified when that which it establishes is more valuable than that which it sweeps away. According to this principle, Augustus at Actium was in the right, and the Empire was an advance for the world. We say it boldly, quoting against Tacitus, Tacitus himself, Pliny, Josephus, Strabo, Philo, Aristides, Dion Cassius, and all the provincial authors;[1] setting over against Caligula and Nero, not only Vespasian and Trajan, but the happiness of an Empire that was too vast to be disturbed by the follies and cruelties of one man. Let us turn our attention away for a moment from the tragedies of the palace and the senate house, and we see Domitian making excellent laws which Nerva confirms; and under Caracalla, Papinian editing the edicts.

Accordingly, we commend Augustus for taking up Cæsar's task; we praise him for his liberality of mind, and his taste for

[1] . . . . *Is optimus civitatis status habendus est in quo nihil tale* [*ambitus comitiorum, expilati socii, cives trucidati*] *patimur* (Tac., *de Orat.*, 37, and cf. 41).—Strabo, liv., vi. *ad fin.*; Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xxi. 2; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, iii. 5; Dion, liii. 19. Ἡ μὲν οὖν πολιτεία οὕτω τότε πρός τε τὸ βέλτιον καὶ πρὸς τὸ σωτηριωδέστερον μετεκοσμήθη καὶ γάρ που καὶ παντάπασιν ἀδύνατον ἦν δημοκρατουμένους αὐτοὺς σωθῆναι. See vol. iii. p. 668 *sqq*.

[2] Statue in the Museum of Brescia (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 770 F, No. 1902 B).

art and letters; for his upright administration, and for his skill in making the Romans pass from their anarchical liberties to the tranquillity of a fruitful peace. But we have a right to call to account a founder of empire for what he did not do. When a man ascends so high, it is that he may have a fair view, especially in the direction whence comes the future. Had the first emperor the broad, deep views of the man of first-rate ability? After Antony's death everything was possible to Augustus; what did he do with this power? Occupied with the single care of saving his fortune by concealing it, he lived from day to day for himself only, without thought for the morrow, here and there replastering the old edifice, instead of taking hold of it with a powerful grasp, and establishing it upon new foundations capable of bearing it for centuries.

Doubtless the Empire of the Cæsars was doomed to die; such is the law of endless transformation. But, by the exercise of prudence, the fatal limit may be set back. Four centuries, half of them passed in wretchedness and disgrace, are not a people's lifetime; the Empire might have lasted longer and better. What state was ever made ready as it was, by nature and man, for a strong and glorious existence? Frontiers easily defensible against enemies who at that time were of little importance, and within the rampart of great rivers, deserts, and high mountains, peoples who, happy in their obedience, since they found in it repose and riches, knew no other name for the power above them than the beautiful appellation, the Roman Peace, *Pax romana.*

Thus, within and without, there was no peril to be feared; all that was evil, since it was neither in the enemy nor in the subjects, existed therefore in the constitution of the State; and a cruel experience has shown us what unlooked-for successes can be given to a people by a firm and skilful organization which suffers no atom of national strength to be wasted, whilst courage, devotion, patriotism—all the resources of a rich and industrious country—are paralyzed or rendered useless by an inefficient organization.

II.—Elements Neglected by Augustus in the Organization of the Empire.

Many causes have been assigned for the decay of the Roman Empire; all that have been given—the economic conditions and manners of this society, slavery, the insubordination of the legions, the state of public finances, the barbarians, etc.—are true, above them all ranks another cause, which alone would have rendered its fall certain. The Empire perished because there was no other State institution than the will of the emperor.

In the ancient republics of Italy and Greece, and among the tribes of Spain and Gaul, power was a function of liberty. It protected general liberty by subordinating, in case of need, the individual liberty to temporary dictatorships. Augustus rendered his permanent. In the East, where the king is the son of Heaven, religion and powerful castes protect him; at Rome, how will the monarch be protected? In that world where ideas of equality have so long prevailed, no man, among those who think, seriously accepts the apotheosis of the ruler, and he stands, without a priesthood or a nobility, alone and undefended, facing 80,000,000 of men—a double danger to himself, for, in this isolation he is exposed to all the blows of conspirators; and, at the height whence he sees the world at his feet, he may turn giddy and lose his reason. Thus are explained the assassination and the madness of so many emperors. It is computed, that up to the time of Constantine, two-thirds of them died a violent death, not to speak of the Thirty Tyrants, who all came to an untimely end.[1]

It appears that the imperial institution of Augustus was, from the beginning, fatal to the emperors; and it must be added that this could not have been otherwise. In states where law prevails, parties and men agitate to change the law; but where the ruler is all, it is the ruler himself whom they change; thus riots and assassinations become the law of the imperial succession. It was, therefore, for the interests of nation and ruler alike,

[1] Forty-one out of fifty-nine. According to the list prepared by Brottier, of 108 persons belonging to the Julian house by blood or alliance, from Cæsar to Nero, thirty-nine, or more than a third, perished by a violent death.

to find, for founding an imperial monarchy, something beside the concentration in the hands of one man of all the old republican powers, with their dangerous associations. It was still further necessary, since the city had became a world,[1] to prepare the formation of a new people of the Empire to take the place of the former citizens. Now, this new organization did not presuppose ideas foreign to that epoch of history. When we shall have shown the already existing institutions which might have been developed, and shown the fatal results produced by certain institutions at that time established, we shall have adequate means of pronouncing a verdict upon the first of the Cæsars. As the successors of Augustus inherited his policy, we shall at the same time form some idea of the character which the Empire derived from its founder, and bequeathed in turn to many modern states, in which the legists of the mediæval period, by aid of the imperial laws, reconstructed absolute monarchy.

And first, since Augustus was so desirous that the Republic should seem to be maintained, and preserved so carefully all its outward forms, why did he, in two important points, repudiate the national tradition—namely, in the constitution of authority, and in the progressive extension of citizenship?

If the revolution accomplished at Actium, and accepted by all men, had for inevitable consequence the concentration of authority, it required neither a life-long and absolute possession, which exposes the State to the peril of being ruled by a feeble or capricious hand, nor heredity, which brings the risk of rulers minor in age or in wisdom. Hereditary monarchy is a conservative force only in those countries where exist independently, as in the France of the Valois and the first Bourbons, great bodies which, being interested in the support of the throne, make themselves its defenders; or, among people, like the English, Belgians, and Dutch, whose municipal, provincial, and, consequently, State institutions are so strong that royalty merely serves them as an ornament—a sort of keystone to the arch, making complete an edifice, which, however, like Agrippa's Pantheon, would in any case still stand firm. Rome had no great political bodies, which

[1] *Urbem fecisti quod prius orbis erat* (Rutilius, *Itin.*, 66).

are the work of time; and Augustus did not know how to give it those institutions which could be the work of one man. Monarchy found, therefore, in Rome none of those conditions which are necessary for its regulated existence; hence, the existence it had there was one of disorder.

However, since this immense Empire demanded unity of rule, a combination should have been sought which included neither heredity nor the life-tenure of power, both of which were particularly odious to the Greco-Roman world, where all depended on election and manhood.[1] Hence there should have been established for the government that which existed in the civil law for the family and in respect to the appointment to certain offices. The senators were appointed by the two censors, the dictator by one of the consuls, the augurs by their colleagues, and adoption, *adrogatio*, gave means of constituting a legal family, even at the expense of the real heirs. Augustus thought of this. During a serious malady he gave his ring to Agrippa, as the worthiest; and we have seen that he caused his powers to be renewed every ten years, but without ever having the courage to relinquish them. As he grew older, the selfishness of paternal affection obtained the mastery; family interests predominated over the interests of the State. He wounded the great Agrippa by his favours to the son of Octavia; and Tiberius, who up to that time had shown nothing but talents, by preferring to him the young Cæsars. Still, to his latest hour his mind vacillated between two contrary ideas: the greatness of his house, which he wished to maintain, and the security of the Empire, to which he felt that hereditary power was but a poor guarantee. In his Testament he again advised that all authority should not

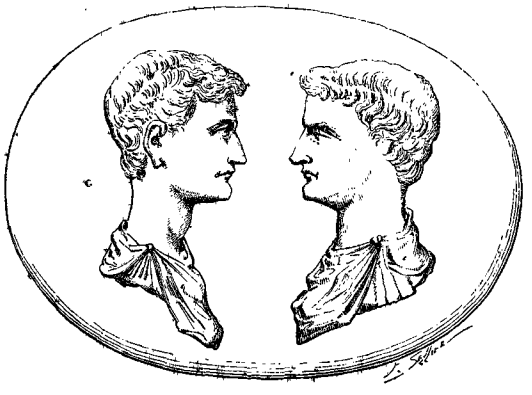
Rome and Augustus.[2]

[1] At the age of sixty the citizen ceased to vote. Festus, v. *Sexagenarius;* Macrobius, *Sat.*, i. v.; and Pliny, *Epist.*, iv. 23: *Ipsæ leges monent quæ majorem LX annis otio reddunt.* At sixty-five men were exempt from the capitation tax. Ulpian, in the *Digest*, 4, 15, 3, *præm.*

[2] From an engraved stone in the Museum of Vienna. (Arneth, pl. iv.)

be confided to any one man, and that to the republican magistrates should be left a considerable influence and power of action.[1]

But to be just, we must recognize that, if the entirely Roman system of adoption gave us the Age of the Antonines, it gave us also Caligula and Nero; and that abdication, after ten years of power, was very difficult in a country where there existed no constitutional force capable of compelling it. Excellent in theory, these institutions require, in order to be applied, an abnegation which is not in human nature, or else institutions stronger than the individual. Augustus himself had not the disposition to resign office, and he sought no means to render the resignation of his successors obligatory.



The Young Cæsars (Caius and Lucius).[2]

Upon other points, he was even more deficient in foresight.

The ancient senate, the Gracchi, Drusus, Cæsar more than all, even the kings, from the earliest times had desired to broaden the foundations of the Roman dominion by constantly increasing the number of citizens. Everything counselled a perseverance in this course; but Augustus stopped short in it; he was very sparing of the citizenship, refusing it to *protégés* of Tiberius and even of Livia, and in his Testament recommended that no new citizens be created.[3] Yet the entire history of the Republic, the explanation of all her prosperity

[1] Dion, lvi. 33, and Suet., *Octav.*, 37: *Quo plures partem administrandæ reipublicæ caperent.*

[2] From an engraved cornelian in the Gallery of Florence. (Gorii, vol. i. pl. 2.)

[3] According to the Monument of Ancyra, the census of the year 28 B.C. gave 4,063,000 citizens; that of the year 8 B.C. gave 4,233,000; that of the year 13 A.D., 4,937,000. This is, in forty-one years of peace, an annual increase of about 20,000 citizens, a total falling much below average annual increase of populations, since at this rate two and a half centuries must have passed before the Roman population would have doubled. Even if Augustus had not himself said that he had made it a rule to be very sparing of the citizenship, we should see from the figures given above that his concessions of this right must have been few. It is proper to add that with the political question, in the matter of citizenship, there was also a financial question. Citizens paid neither capitation nor land-tax; in increasing their number the public revenue was therefore diminished. But there was no ground for hesitation between a political measure of the highest necessity and a fiscal interest, easily to be provided for in other ways.

is summed up in these words: the successive admission of the plebeians to the patrician city, and of the Italians to the Roman city. This is the national tradition, and Augustus abandons it, at the moment when the Cæsarian revolution made it needful and possible to bring about a new advance. After the victory of the plebeians and of the Italians came the hour for the provinces. By the fault of Augustus, they were compelled to wait two centuries for it, and when it did come, it was too late; the equality of rights decreed by Caracalla was nothing but the equality of burdens.

The Roman people was recruited in another way, namely, by enfranchisements. Livius Andronicus was thus acquired, Cæcilius, Terence, Horace, Syrus, Phædrus, Tiro, the friend of Cicero and probably editor of his letters, Epictetus, and many others of servile condition or origin who were an honour to arts, letters, and philosophy. The freedmen were often an element of corruption, but they were also an element of progress, for they were the result of a sort of natural selection, which designated for liberty the most highly-bred and intelligent of the slaves. Augustus still further endeavoured to dry up this spring. He limited the number of testamentary enfranchisements (*lex Furia Caninia*); he fixed the age at which the master could give liberty, and the slave receive it; and his Testament discouraged manumission.[1] It was a system logically followed out. Augustus conceived the Roman State in a manner as exclusive as certain patricians of the early days, and four centuries earlier he would doubtless have applauded the words of Manlius threatening to assassinate the first Latin who should come to take his seat in the senate. Ancient Roman life he wished to restore in all its characteristics, *except* its great public policy and its free institutions: here we have the measure of this narrow intelligence which could neither read in the past nor foresee the future. Look carefully through the long enumeration of his acts which he caused to be engraved on brass to make his fame eternal, and you will find there not one political idea—a proof that he had no clear conception of the work of which events made him the instrument.

However, the world could not go on at random. A great

[1] See vol. iii. p. 734 and notes, and p. 761 and notes.

state cannot subsist and be defended save on the condition of having ideas which unite many citizens with institutions which direct many wills towards the same end, and arm many hands for a common effort. These general institutions Augustus might have given to the Empire; and these common ideas, a more able administration would have carefully fostered.

The ancients, who so perfectly organized the city, had but a very insufficient conception of the State. Their most famous cities, Athens, Sparta, Carthage, founded no durable [or rather, extended] dominion, for the reason that, comprehending only a sovereignty personally exercised by each citizen in a determined place, they reserved political rights for the few, and maintained the distinction between conquerors and conquered, which prevented them from ever forming a great nation. Rome rose to greatness and permanent power by the contrary policy; but she only half solved the problem: she assimilated to herself a part of the vanquished, giving them her own civil laws, but she did not form a homogeneous whole by new political institutions.

Between the State represented by the ruler with his sovereign will, and the thousand cities which kept their own interior administration, there was needed an intermediate body, placed below the formidable power of the emperor, but above the humble and timid magistrates, whose authority, views, and interests did not go beyond the walls of their own city. This body existed everywhere, in embryo only, it is true; but if Augustus had given it a broad and serious life, if, as Cæsar sought to do, and as Mæcenas, it is said, and Claudius proposed,[1] Augustus had made choice of some of his functionaries and some of his Conscript Fathers from out of the provincial assemblies[2]—not as a matter of individual patriotism, but in virtue of established rules;

[1] Claudius in his discourse at Lyons, Mæcenas in that which Dion attributes to him (lii. 19). From the fact that Mæcenas certainly did not pronounce this discourse, it does not follow that he had not the idea of opening the senate and the equestrian order to the chief men of the provinces, the Roman citizenship to the subjects, an idea which was in the tradition of Cæsar's policy and one of the necessities of the new government.

[2] If the Roman senate had been composed of the most important persons of Rome, of Italy, and of the provinces, it would have had, like the English House of Lords, a power of its own and an important influence, whereas, like the French Chamber of Peers and the Senate of the First and Second Empire, it had only a borrowed influence that the ruler and public opinion gave and withdrew as they chose.

if he had attached by some tie the senate of Rome to the provincial senates, in a manner to make this assembly truly the supreme council of the nation, he would have substituted for the purely municipal constitution of the Empire, a strong and vital State organization. For lack of this tie, all the cities remained isolated, indifferent to the general interests, and so, destitute of that related life which makes of a collection of atoms a systematic organism.

This idea, which Tacitus would have accepted, since he, like Cicero, desired a mixed government of royalty, aristocracy, and democracy,[1] was so practicable that what had not been done by the first emperor at the opportune moment was attempted by later rulers when the favourable time had passed. By the famous edict of 418, renewed by a rescript of Gratianus in 382, Honorius ordered the magistrates and *curiales*, that is, the land-owners of Novempopulania and Aquitania, to send deputies every year to the city of Arles, to submit to the prætorian præfect of Gaul their views on matters of public importance; and some eminent scholars derive from this edict the origin of the states general of Languedoc, which lasted until the time of the French Revolution.[3]

Head of Faunus, found at Arles.[2]

[1] He wished it, but believed it difficult to maintain. (*Ann.*, iv. 33.) This is the government which would have been established if Augustus had given to the provincial assemblies the right to deliberate independently upon the affairs of their province, and a share in filling the senate and the great public offices.

[2] Museum of the Louvre.

[3] Caseneuve, *États génér. du Lang.*, p. 14; Hauteserre, *Rer. Aquit.*, iv., chap. ii.; dom Vaissette, *Hist. du Languedoc*, vol. i., proofs; Fauriel, *Hist. de la Gaule mérid.*, i., 148.

We may assert that like orders were sent out to other provinces. Unhappily, in 418, the barbarians had already penetrated into the Empire and the inevitable dissolution had begun.

Where would be to-day the Roman Catholic organization without the provincial synods, which have been the bond connecting the individual churches—without the general councils, which have introduced order among the religious provinces—without the œcumenical councils, which have made the unity of the universal church, and secured to the pontifical monarchy fifteen centuries of existence? And these synods copied the provincial assemblies of the Empire, as the churches at first imitated the *collegia* of the cities, with their free elections, their monthly assessments, and their common cemeteries.

The evil of the Roman Empire was the preponderance of the military order; it was necessary to balance this by strengthening the civil order with the elements which existed everywhere, which were as natural as they were needful to the various populations. Why could not that which was so useful in the church have served the State as well? But Augustus feared the formation of a provincial spirit, which he considered an embarrassment, whereas he might have made of it a support. His successors followed the same course; they dreaded these assemblies and refused them on principle all share in political affairs, which Dion in the third century expresses thus: "The subject peoples are to be masters of nothing; they are never to meet in public assemblies, for they would have no good ideas and would incessantly excite disturbances."[1] With such suspicions as these strong states cannot be made. And so the Roman colossus was broken by enemies whom Cæsar's legionaries would have been able to scourge from the battle-field.

We note, as worthy of remark that the two greatest nations of antiquity, the Greeks and the Romans, suffered from the same evil: in Greece, the division of the territory into a crowd of cities, regarding each other as foreigners or enemies; in the Empire, the isolation of municipalities under the absolute authority of the prince. In the last hour of their existence both had

[1] Dion, lii. 30.

recourse to the same remedy to save themselves, in attempting to constitute a state at last, the one by federations, the other by a sort of representative government.[1] They were unsuccessful; but what might have happened for the former if Philip of Macedon had found before him the Achaian League extended over all Greece, and for the latter, if, four centuries and a half before Honorius, Augustus had sanctioned an institution which was then alive in all hearts and all minds?

Bronze Victory found at Lyons.[2]

In respect to the recruiting of the orders and of the public service from the provincials, this idea of Cæsar, which Augustus rejected, became to himself and his successors a necessity, to fill the gaps that the carelessness of families and the cruelty of the emperors made in the ranks of the nobility. Tacitus shows us, under Tiberius, many new men in the senate;[3]

[1] See the author's *Greek History*, vol. ii. p. 409, where the eighth period of that history commences (272–146, B.C.) entitled: *Efforts impuissants pour s'unir et se sauver*, [and also Freeman's *Hist. of Federal Government*, vol. i. *passim.—Ed.*]

[2] Museum at Lyons. Figurine 22 centimètres in height, found in 1866, whose pose and proportions recall those of a statuette of Victory, surmounting a *vexillum* of the column of Trajan. M. Martin-Daussigny concluded from this (*Gazette archéol.*, 1876, pp. 112-114), that this Victory was the decoration of a Roman standard. It has also been supposed that it was a fragment of a small bronze copy of the altar of Augustus at Lyons. Cf. above, p. 24.

[3] *Novi homines e municipiis, coloniis atque etiam provinciis in senatum crebro assumpti* (*Ann.*, iii. 55, *ad annum* 22).

Caligula, according to Dion,[1] filled up the equestrian order from the noblest and richest of the provincials, and granted to many of them the laticlave; lastly, we know from the discourse at Lyons that Claudius was disposed to make this idea the principle of his administration. But this recruiting, to which later Rome owed some of her best rulers, was not the result of a general plan of government: executed at random, and as a matter of personal favour, it had not the advantages of an organization binding the provinces together, and utilizing all the influences of intelligence and fortune.

We have enumerated the emperor's scrupulous rules, assigning to each man his place, and keeping him there. This watch over social conditions, these encouragements given to vanity by distinctions at the disposal of the ruler, were of the purest monarchical spirit. But Augustus should have taken one step further, and established the hierarchy of civil functions, as he rendered permanent the hierarchy of military functions. The republican constitution admitted neither the one nor the other, for in civil life it knew no subordinate powers, and for military life it only admitted them as temporary. Each magistrate in the Republic was independent and sovereign, saving only his responsibility to the people; military grades were valid only for the campaign; the man to-day a consul and receiving a triumph, to-morrow served as legionary tribune. A subordination of powers is, on the contrary, one of the conditions of royalty. Augustus had a vague instinct of this, not a well-defined view; and although we find in his regulations the germ of "the divine hierarchy" of Constantine and of his successors, who made the maintenance of ranks and classes the principal object of the State, we may say that the first emperor did not give to his monarchy the administrative organization necessary to that form of government. Free institutions, that is to say, the soul, being lacking to the social body, it was at least necessary to maintain it, to wrap it about with a multiplicity of cords all joined in the ruler's hands.

To maintain and defend this vast dominion, then, which was subject later on to such furious attacks, Augustus had to

[1] lix. 9.

choose between two systems: either, on the one hand, free institutions in the cities, provinces, and states, which would have produced union between low and high, and in the very heart of the country; or, on the other, a monarchy carefully organized, in which the ruler's agents were everywhere present, and union was created between high and low by administrative ties. He attempted neither the one nor the other—preserved, while ameliorating it, the system which conquest had produced, and contented himself with giving a head to the State and a master to the proconsuls. The pillage of the provinces was arrested, but the strength and duration of the Empire were not provided for.

In another way the subjects of the Roman Empire might have been called upon to unite their sentiments and interests. In accordance with Greek and Roman ideas, the defence of the country was the citizen's first duty. By imposing this obligation upon the provincials, and causing their youth to pass regularly through the discipline of the camps, Augustus would have endowed his Empire with a military organization preserving manly habits among the people, and bringing together the different races and nationalities. He did indeed create a standing army, but later we shall see what the results were of this institution which, disarming 80,000,000, took away from them the care of defending themselves. To continue in our present line of thought, we will merely say that general assemblies would have kept political life alive; that a provincial militia would have prevented the loss of the military spirit; finally, that the two institutions united would have given birth to patriotism, which is the honour of prosperous times and the resource in times of misfortune.

If it be objected that there could be no organization capable of making the Copts on the banks of the Nile and the Gauls on the shores of the Seine lead the same life, we shall say further that it may indeed be true that these institutions would not have saved the Empire, but they would, at least, have hastened the formation of the great modern nations, and that these latter, organized, armed, and disciplined, would have become strong enough themselves to resist invasion.

We look to see what there was that could serve as a bond of union among the different Roman nations. We find that the

Latin language was spreading through the West,[1] the Greek through the East, and the Roman law everywhere. But this law regulates only individual family or municipal questions, and these two languages, useful instruments of traffic, will not serve for the expression of those fraternal sentiments which compose the greatest of social forces, patriotism.

Among the ancients, the city formed the citizen by the traditions piously preserved around the domestic hearth, or constantly revived in the agora or the forum, in the rites of religion, or in popular songs, by eloquence, poetry, and art. But, to so many different nationalities, separated by history, by religion, and for a long time yet, by language, what could the priests of the Empire and its philosophers teach, its artists and poets, its statesmen and men of letters? That which institutions did not do, was it to be done by education?

The pagan religions were without influence upon the moral direction of life, because the question of good and ill desert had no place in the midst of these religious conceptions, where the gods were considered only as the personification of the brute forces of nature. The priests would have been obliged to turn these beliefs to the edification of the worshippers if the pagan cult had admitted preaching; but, in the temple, the priests only performed rites; they did not teach. This duty had been taken up by the poets and philosophers, often with great danger to morals by the former, and with great danger to the gods by the latter. Their books, more suited to destroy than to build up, to separate than to unite, were, however, the only books of education known to this society.[2]

In ancient Greece, the popular songs, the great national epics,

[1] The Latin spread also in the East, and more widely than we suppose. There has been found in Nicomedia a Latin inscription of the year 2 B.C. From the second century of the Christian era, at many points, Ancyra, for example, there are found as many Latin as Greek inscriptions, and in the list of municipal officers at Cyzicus, the Latin names are at least as numerous as the Greek. (G. Perrot, *Galatie*, pp. 6 and 75.)

[2] The boy was removed from the women at about the age of seven; till twelve or fourteen he followed the instruction of a grammarian, and his school-books were the classic poets. From the school of the grammarian he passed to that of the rhetorician, who taught him the art of discourse; after this he attached himself to some philosopher, who made him acquainted with the system in vogue and with what he needed to know for public life. These schools were private and absolutely free enterprises; under the Empire, there were professors of higher instruction, paid by the State and by the cities. The communes had also primary public schools. See below, chap. lxxxiii. § 4.

the poems of Hesiod, Tyrtæus, and Pindar, were in every mouth; in the Middle Ages, the legends of the saints, the *chansons de geste*, even the *fabliaux*, were an education to the crowd. In modern nations, the school, the book, the newspaper, the pulpit, the platform, all influence education and form public opinion. Imperial Rome had nothing of this kind. The letters and philosophy of the refined remained without effect upon the multitude.

Nor had art greater influence; like literature, it was but an affair of elegance and amusement. An Egyptian temple, covered all over with inscriptions and sculptures, historic or religious, spoke to the eyes and to the soul, and, in presence of these

An Egyptian Temple (Denderah).

sanctuaries of religion and patriotism, the inhabitants felt themselves a nation: a Christian church, with its Biblical narratives emblazoned upon the windows, carved upon the portals, on the capitals, painted on the walls of the chancel, was a great book, understood of all, even the ignorant, and in which all read that they were brothers. What did the baths of Agrippa, the portico of Octavia, the Julian basilica, the amphitheatre of Taurus, say to the crowd? What could the Pans and Satyrs say, the homicide Antinous, and the seductive goddesses? Among all these nationalities, therefore, there was nothing in common, save the necessity of obedience and the utility of peace. This was enough to stand, while peril was far away; it was not enough for living

a strong and glorious life. Augustus seems to have understood that, without any moral tie, the thousand cities which his Empire contained, must remain divided; and he made an effort to unite them by giving them two new divinities, Rome and the emperor; at the same time, by his poets and historians, by his discourses and edicts, he proposed to their imitation the superannuated ideal of the old Roman State, that aristocracy now crowned with a

Octavia's Portico (details by Reynaud).

king, with its manners and customs of a Latin municipium, and its narrow spirit of the ancient conquering city. He only succeeded in maintaining a sterile pride among the inhabitants of Rome, and in awakening with some of them the republican spirit of the late period, without causing a general sentiment of a common country to spring up in the hearts of the provincial.

Under the Republic, this people and this soul existed. The cry, *Civis Romanus sum*, was a formidable appeal to the justice of earth and heaven. Under the Empire, no man dreamed of

uttering this protest, for though there were indeed Roman citizens, that is to say, privileged persons, scattered throughout the provinces, there was no Roman nation, therefore, no imperial patriotism. The official religion which Augustus created was not capable of forming one, for to the altars of Rome and the Emperor the people came only to attest their absolute resignation.

Freed from all care of public affairs, since one man thought and acted for all, each lived an isolated life, seeking his ease and his pleasures, and regarding any social duty as a burden. There were no more intrigues, no more tumults; the Forum was quiet; but, towards the close of his reign, Augustus found difficulty in obtaining candidates to fill the magistracies. He was obliged to use constraint to keep his senate full, and to obtain the presence of the senators in the house. No one wanted to be ædile or tribune; but, neither did any man want to take arms, even when Italy and Rome trembled at news of the disaster of Varus. Everything crumbles away in free states that lose their liberty: the military spirit and the political disappeared together; there are no soldiers, because there are no citizens; and citizens have ceased to exist, because one man is all—both law and country.[1]

[1] "There was no one found desirous of entering the senate, even the sons or descendants of senators; but he constrained (*κατηνάγκασε*) those who had the property qualification to become senators." (Dion, liv. 26.) "As none of those who were of age to bear arms were willing to be enrolled (*μηδεὶς . . . καταλεχθῆναι ἠθέλησεν*) he caused lots to be drawn, and those upon whom the lot fell, one in five of those under thirty-five years of age and one in ten of those older, were despoiled of their possessions, and branded with infamy; many refusing still to obey, a number of them were punished with death. Also, by lot, he enrolled as many veterans and freedmen as possible." (*Ibid.*, lvi. 23.) Another time Augustus caused to be sold the person and property of a Roman knight who had cut off the thumbs of his two sons, *pollex truncatus*, whence our word *poltroon*), that he might exempt them from military service. (Suet., *Octav.*, 24.) Under Tiberius, no man wished to accept the office of governor of a province. Thus, Lepidus and Blesus refused the African proconsulship. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 35.) Lamia will not go into Syria, of which he has been appointed governor (*Ann.*, vi. 27); and Claudius is obliged to decree that all governors shall be gone from Rome by the middle of April (Dion, lx. 17). This emperor, having as censor expelled a number of senators, most of the persons expelled considered it a good fortune, *διὰ πενίαν*. Another, wishing to retire to Carthage, was compelled to remain. (*Ibid.*, lx. 28.)

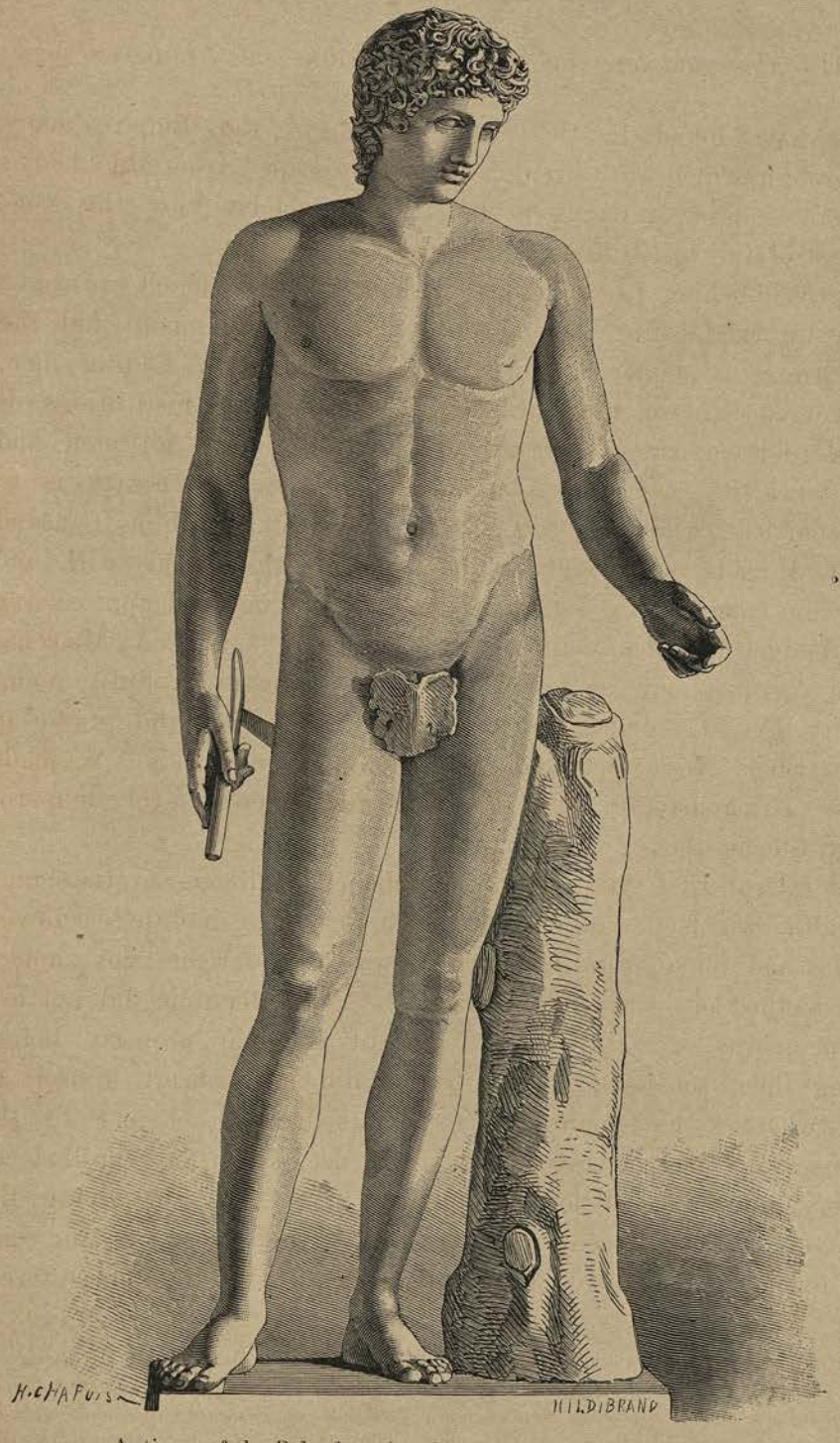
III.—Consequences of the Institutions of Augustus.

We have found in the establishment of the Empire many gaps through which the strength and life escaped from this body; one more inquiry remains to be made, namely, into the consequences of the institutions of Augustus.

By establishing the rigorous classifications of which we have spoken, by establishing a kind of heredity in the senate and the army, Augustus deprived himself of the means of finding men. The characteristic of republics, or at least of free institutions, is to produce them, since then all things are open to all men and talent takes its own place. The characteristic of courts is to make courtiers, who by degrees fetter the prince with a thousand invisible threads, whatever may be his strength and his will, and hinder him from looking outside of his surroundings and approaching the valuable men who will wait to be sought out. A Mæcenas and an Agrippa may be found under an Augustus, a Sully under a Henry IV., a Colbert under a Louis XIV.; but the prætorian præfect whom Nero appointed was Tigellinus, and Louis XV. made Soubise a marshal of France. The favourites of the emperor become the masters of the Empire.

It is true that Augustus in established at Rome an aristocracy of wealth, which the other cities made haste to imitate,[1] believed that he had found a principle of conservation for his government and a method of recruiting his officials. The Republic did not ask of Cincinnatus or Fabricius the amount of their property before making them senators; Fabius Buteo did not concern himself to know whether the senatorial census was lacking or not to the citizens who had received civic crowns, whom he enrolled as senators, after the battle of Cannæ; and Cæsar, in giving the laticlave to certain centurions, regarded their services and not their fortunes. Augustus, more critical, required 1,200,000 sesterces

[1] Pliny is well aware that the whole imperial constitution rested on an aristocracy of wealth; after extolling the ancient times, he says: *Posteris . . . . rerum amplitudo damno fuit: postquam senator censu legi cœptus, judex fieri censu, magistratum ducemque nil magis exornare quam census* (*Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 1). This judgment is expressly confirmed by Dion (liv. 17). See vol. iii. p. 735.



Antinous of the Belvedere, found upon the Esquiline (p. 245).

for senators and 400,000 for knights; it was the means by which he made part of them his pensioners. And besides, since the senate had now no longer the power, it was essential to give it something else which would seem splendid and produce an effect on the crowd. But an aristocracy of wealth never becomes a political body subsisting by itself, save in a commercial and manufacturing state, where the worth of gold is known and those are honoured who have honestly gained it. At Rome fortune was not the product of free and honest labour. It was often derived from the worst sources, usury, legacy hunting, foul trades, mendicancy at court. In the first rows of the amphitheatre, whence the honest poor man was driven, Juvenal saw barbers, the sons of gladiators, public criers, men of infamous trades, who with gold picked out of the mud had bought the right to sit among the equestrian order.[1]

And so in the very presence of Augustus the son of a freedman does not hesitate to scoff at this mock nobility: "If you lack six or seven thousand sesterces of the equestrian census," says Horace, "you are of the common herd, although you may have courage, character, eloquence . . . . and yet the children in their games say, 'Do well and thou shalt be king.' . . . . This is what the Curii and the Camilli also say, those men of masculine courage. . . . . To-day old and young alike cry, 'First, let us seek for fortune, virtue is of no importance; hail to wealth!' To whom the Syrian slave makes answer, 'Fortune! but she is wont to stultify him upon whom she lavishes her favours!'"

Furthermore, for wealth to become a force its security is indispensable; and by the law concerning treason, the threat of confiscation was to be held out over all.

In the most important place appeared the senate. Augustus seemed to give everything up to it. But we have seen that in reality he retained everything in his own hands, and that this almost sovereign assembly was entirely at his discretion. It remained, however, the shadow of a great name, *stat magni nominis umbra;* and Augustus, well as he knew the powerlessness of these men whom he loaded with honours to conceal their disgrace, took

[1] Martial, *Epigr.*, vii. 64; and Juvenal, *Sat.*, iii. 153. *Curia pauperibus clausa est; dat census honores* (Ovid, *Amor.*, III. viii. 55). Cf. Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 1.

from them—in order that they might be always under his eye and hand—a liberty which the meanest citizen possessed: no

Augustus seated.[1]

senator could absent himself from Italy without special leave of absence from the emperor.[2]

[1] Museum of Naples.

[2] This prohibition was still in force in the time of Dion (lii. 42).

I have said nothing of the people, and for the reason that they were absolutely of no importance, and never even became of consequence through riots.[1]

The populace of Rome had passed through three historic stages, which may be designated by these three words: the *plebeians*, the *poor*, the *proletarii*.

By dint of constancy and the true political spirit, the plebeians had conquered political, civil, and religious equality.

The poor struggled against the rich, as in our time labour is arrayed against capital: this was the epoch of the civil wars in which liberty perished.

The *proletarii*, instead of honour and patriotism, had nothing left but desires for the gratification of the senses.[2]

The Roman people had become the proletariat and the soldiery, two different forms of the same social condition. Augustus, who regularly established these two classes by making the distributions of corn an institution at Rome and by separating the army from the people, did not foresee that to give the imperial power its origin in the consent of the people and the legions for its sole defence, without other intermediate institutions save a servile senate, was to put at the base of the social edifice a blind and violent force, which would shake it perpetually and make and unmake emperors.

"In human governments there are only two powers of control, the power of arms and the power of laws. If the latter is not supported by a judicial body without fear and without reproach, the former must prevail, and thus lead to the triumph of military over civil institutions."[3] Justice, confused with the administrative power, remained in the emperor's hands; hence the numerous condemnations which were mere odious means of vengeance or of spoliation.

We come now to the real creation of Augustus, the standing army, which took away the need of civil institutions, gave the Empire its true character, and determined its destiny.

[1] However, even in the third century, according to Ulpian and Gaius, the foundation of the imperial power was still the legal fiction of the popular consent: . . . . *Quod populus ei et in eum omnem suam potestatem conferat.*

[2] *Vulgus . . . . cui una ex re publica annonæ cura* (Tac., *Hist.*, iv. 38).

[3] See Story, *Commentaries on the Constitution*, n. 1612, and the excellent book of M. G. Picot, *la Réforme judiciaire en France*, p. 366, and Appendix ix., 1881.

Military institutions are, so to speak, the *résumé* of a people's civilization, and the formation of a great army foretells the formation of a great empire. Greece triumphed over the Asiatic hordes with her citizen soldiers, and her victory gave us the Age of Pericles. But the divided Greeks could not resist the phalanx of Macedon, [and its companion cavalry] which conquered Asia and gave us Alexander. In its turn this heavy mass fell in pieces under the attack of the legion, the most finished engine of war known to antiquity, and Rome ruled from the Thames to the Euphrates. In modern times, the infantry of Turenne, Condé, and the Republic made the power of Louis XIV. and of Napoleon, as the skilful organization of Prussia, with its whole nation under arms and disciplined, was the cause of the recent misfortunes of France, since she had not in time replaced a worn-out system by a new one. Augustus had the art of comprehending what the times required: the soldier-people of the Republic, with its legions levied yearly, had conquered; he formed a standing army to maintain the Empire.

Soldier on Horseback, wearing the helmet and carrying the spear and a buckler, ornamented with a star.[1]

The manner in which he organized it is well understood: about 300,000 men, divided into twenty-five legions and the auxiliary cohorts, were posted along the frontiers on the verge of the Empire. This was well; but these soldiers were legally retained twenty years under the standards in active service, and often as veterans for their whole lives; an orator of the Pannonian legions complains in their name that they are kept in the service thirty and forty years; others, on occasion of some disturbance, exhibit their white hair,[2] and Civilis, to decide the Batavians to

[1] From an engraved stone. (La Chausse, *Racc. di Gem. Ant.*, ii. pl. 135.)

[2] *Canitiem exprobantes* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 18). In the year 23, Tiberius shows the legions almost uniformly composed of veterans: *multitudinem veteranorum* (*Ann.*, iv. 4; *Hist.*, iv. 14).

attack the camps, tells them they will find there only *senes*, old men. The sum promised to retiring soldiers: 5,000 denarii to the prætorians, 3,000 to the legionaries, clearly proves that but a very small number of soldiers were thus dismissed annually.[1] Very few of these veterans returned to their native city. The successors of Augustus often retained them under the standards till their death,[2] or gave them, instead of money, lands along the line of the frontiers, for the purpose of fringing them with a Roman and military population.[3]

From this organization it resulted that the soldiers, bound almost for their entire lives to a trade, no longer as formerly for a few years to a civic duty, formed a distinct people in the Empire, with manners, ideas, wants, and immunities peculiar to themselves,[4] while citizens and provincials regarded the military life with disgust, and a time came when they even fled into deserts rather than be enrolled in a legion. To keep the army full with so long a duration of service 25,000 recruits yearly, or even less, were enough, a levy imperceptible in a population of

He himself contributed to this: *Missiones veteranorum rarissimas fecit, ex senio mortem, ex morte compendium captans* (Suet., *Tib.*, 48). In the *Mon. Anc.*, No. 17, Augustus says that he gave rewards . . . . *militibus qui vicena plurave stipendia emeruissent.*

[1] The normal veteran standing would have removed from the ranks every year one-twentieth of the legionaries, or 15,000 men; and one-sixteenth of the prætorians, or 740 men. Now, 15,000 × 3,000 = 45,000,000, and 740 × 5,000 = 3,700,000; a total of 48,700,000 denarii, which must have seemed a very large sum to the emperors, and which they sought to reduce by limiting the number of dismissals. (Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 48.) The annual pay of the legions was about £2,000,000 sterling; to this must be added the expense of the auxiliary cohorts, the higher pay of the under officers, centurions, tribunes, and legates, the expenses for the fleets, for engines of war, for corn furnished gratuitously, and, lastly, for the rewards to veteran standing. I do not speak of the *donativa*, an old republican custom which the Empire could not repudiate, which was the due every time the ruler was proclaimed *imperator*, whether on the day of his accession or upon every victory of his lieutenants. Marquardt (*Staatsverf.*, ii. p. 94) estimates the annual expense for provisions, arms, and clothing furnished gratuitously by the State as nearly 40,000,000 denarii. It is quite probable that the military expenses of the Empire were not less than £8,000,000.

[2] In this case, the veterans remaining in camp were exempt from all service save when the enemy attacked. (Suidas, *s. v.* Βετεράνος.) The *evocati*, or veterans recalled to service, wore a vine branch like the centurions (Dion, lv. 24). Domitian granted the privileges of the veteran standing, that is to say, the *jus civitatis et connubii*, to auxiliaries who had served twenty-five years, at the same time keeping them under the standards. (L. Renier, *Dipl. Milit.*, p. 220.)

[3] Octavius did not think on the morrow of the battle of Actium of establishing his veterans upon the frontiers; and so it is said in the Monument of Ancyra that he sent 300,000 of them home to their towns, or established them upon lands that he had bought for them.

[4] For instance, the *castrense peculium*, establishing for the first time to the son a property of which the father could not dispose.

80,000,000 souls, and easily made without disturbing the citizens in their indolence, either by taking, as Vegetius says, wretched fellows unfit for private servants, or by accepting those restless and turbulent men who prefer the hazards of a life in camps to the duties of civil life, and seek the peril of battle for the sake of pillage or adventure.[1] But these mercenaries and these valets will carry into the armies sentiments quite different from honour and patriotism. This was manifested by the insurrections which broke out immediately after the death of Augustus. Besides this, the monarchical principle was introduced into the army, that is to say, favouritism, and a sort of hereditary succession: officers of good family had the precedence over those who were merely soldiers of fortune.[2]

By making the military service a profession he separated the

[1] *Plerumque voluntario milite numeri supplentur* (*Digest*, xlix., tit. 16, leg. 4, § 10), according to Arrius Menander, who seems to have lived near the close of the second century. A little later Dion Cassius made of this practice a settled principle of the government. "It is necessary," he makes Mæcenas say, "to disarm the citizens and remove them from the strong places, and to enrol the more indigent, those whom poverty would constrain to live by plunder" (lii. 27). Later Vegetius (i. 7) says: "All our misfortunes come from the negligence or the cowardice of the commissioners, who make soldiers of wretches whom private individuals would scorn as valets." This evil, however, was of long standing, for as early as the year 23 A.D. Tiberius explains to the senate that volunteers of good character are lacking, and hence even vagabonds must be accepted. Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 4: *Voluntarium militem deesse; ac, si suppeditet, non eadem virtute ac modestia agere, quia plerumque* inopes *ac* vagi *sponte militiam sumant.* The legions remaining encamped along the frontiers, their auxiliaries were recruited chiefly among the neighbouring populations, who, along the Rhine, the Danube, and the Atlas, were real barbarians. Now, many of these barbarians passed into the legions, obtaining the title of citizens, of which the character went on altering more and more at each generation. We shall see in chapter lxxvii. what the legionaries of Vitellius and Vespasian had come to be . . . . *truces corpore, horridi sermone,* and how they conducted themselves at the sack of Cremona and of Rome. "Most of the soldiers of Vitellius," says Otho, "are Germans." (*Hist.*, i. 84.) And Tacitus shows us entire cohorts of Germans attacking Placentia . . . . *cantu truci, et more patrio nudis corporibus* (*ibid.*, ii. 22); lastly, Suetonius, in the council of war held by Otho, advises to prolong the war for the reason that the Germans of Vitellius could not support the heats of summer (*ibid.*, 32); and later, Antonius recommends that the campaign be hastened, in order that time should not be left for the enemy to call in fresh troops from Germany, *Germaniam unde vires* (*ibid.*, iii. 2). At Cremona, the third legion, which comes from Syria, worships the rising sun; a proof that it is composed of Syrians. One of the causes of the insurrection of the Syrian legions against Vitellius was the rumour that he proposed to send them to the shores of the Rhine, and replace them by the army of Germany: *Quippe et provinciales sueto militum contubernio gaudebant, plerique necessitudinibus et propinquitatibus mixti* (*ibid.*, ii. 80). We find also, it is true, a great number of cohorts who seem to have been levied in different provinces; thus, the inscriptions show Spaniards in Switzerland, Swiss in Britain, Pannonians in Africa, Illyrians in Armenia, etc.; but these cohorts were afterwards recruited in the regions where they were encamped. See Henzen, *Sugli equiti singolari.*

[2] See vol. iii. p. 734.

soldiers from the citizens and formed two nations within the Empire; the one becoming feeble, timid, and base; the other becoming strong and insolent, if not always against the enemy, at least against the emperor.

And so, when the days of disaster arrive, and the barbarians break the thin line of the *castra stativa*, they will see before them only timid and cowardly multitudes who tremble at the sight of a sword, as they have been wont to tremble before their emperors. Less than three generations after Vercingetorix the Gauls seemed to Tacitus to have lost their courage, *imbelles*.[1]

Whenever absolute power has sought to establish itself it has resumed the Roman principle of standing armies, disarming the citizens or leaving them unarmed, and this principle has destroyed as many empires as it has founded. It was a national militia that made the fortune of Greece and Rome, that saved Switzerland in her mountains, Holland upon her canals, the United States in their vast territory; and it was the standing army separated from the rest of the nation which, exalting the ambition or the confidence of its chief, caused Charles V. to die in solitude, Louis XIV. in sadness, and Napoleon in captivity.[2]

The tumults among the legions which disorganized the Empire, and the success of the barbarian invasion which overthrew it, were the consequences of the organization which Augustus gave to his military forces. This leads us to remark that all the institutions which he considered elements of order very quickly became elements of disturbance: the legions in the provinces, the prætorians in the city, the senate in the Curia, which was a permanent hot-bed of conspiracies; that, finally, what had appeared to him as an absolute guarantee of security—the isolation of the cities and the disarming of the provincials, proved to be but a cause of weakness to the Empire.

[1] In the year 21 (*Ann.*, iii. 46). Many cities, however, retained arms and a police soldiery. See the author's *Mémoire* on the *Tribuni militum a populo*, in vol. xxix. of *Mém. de l'Acad. des inscr.*, and chap. lxxxiii. of the present work.

[2] Unfortunately for France her late enemies were able to unite both principles: the constitution of a regular army, which secured military science and discipline, and the arming of the entire country, which gave them numbers and strength.

IV.—Vain Efforts to Restore the Old Condition of Society. The Rule of Augustus is an Absolute Monarchy with a Republican Exterior.

Was the emperor more happily inspired when he attempted to restore the early manners and beliefs? Even at Rome he failed, and with much more reason in the Empire. There were many reasons why this should be so, that, among others, which Davus gives to his master when he reproaches Horace with for ever extolling the ancient times, while he was incapable of imitating them.[1]

Roman Matron.[2]

In order to reform morals, says Montesquieu, there must be morals to reform, and the friends and counsellors of Augustus, and Augustus himself, had none. He made no scruple of seducing Roman matrons, an offence even at Rome of the gravest character; and if his edicts were very moral, nevertheless the farces and theatrical pieces in which he took delight were nothing but criminal amours and disgusting jokes. "Examine," Ovid says to him, "the expenses of your games; you will find many infamous things bought with good money."[3] The most

[1] *Sat.*, II. vii. The poet had already said (*Carm.*, iii. 24): . . . . *quid leges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt?*

[2] From a bas-relief in the Louvre. (Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, No. 407.)

[3] *Trist.*, ii. 509. Cf. Suet., *Octav.*, 69, 71: *Ad vitiandas virgines promptior, quæ sibi undique, etiam ab uxore, conquirerentur.* Πολλαῖς γυναιξὶν ἐχρῆτο (Dion, liv. 16). This historian, who is very favourable to Augustus, says, in relation to the reforms of the ruler: "He did not disturb himself at the contradiction existing between his words and his conduct." (*Ibid.*) Cf. *id.*, lvi. 43, and the story of Zonaras in reference to Athenodorus. When the

extolled work of Augustus, his laws *de adulteriis* and *de maritandis ordinibus*, was a great but useless effort; the laws did little good, since manners remained unchanged, and much harm, since they gave birth to the race of informers; and in authorizing the ruler to penetrate into private life they furnished his successors with the means of striking down as adulterers those whom they could not indict as conspirators.

In the same way, in order to undertake the impossible task

Theatrical Scene.[1]

of restoring life to a moribund religion, it is necessary at least to believe in it. But for a long time the enlightened class had ceased to have faith in the gods of Olympus. More than a century before Augustus, Polybius had said: "That which has made the safety of Rome has been the exaggerated fear of the gods. . . . . I cannot doubt that the legislator in thus acting has sought to control the multitude. If states were composed solely of wise men, institutions of this kind could be dispensed with;

senate requested him to arrest, by severe regulations, the disorderly conduct of the women, it appeared mere pleasantry (Dion, liv. 16).

[1] From a bas-relief in the Farnese Collection.

but since the crowd is filled with ungovernable passions and blind frenzies, it has been necessary to restrain them by the fear of the unknown with all its paraphernalia of alarming fictions." A little later the Pontifex Maximus, Scævola, regarded the popular religion as a tissue of follies; useful follies, according to Strabo, and to be respected in the interests of government. Varro thought as he did.

The Neptune of Herculaneum.[2]

Olympus was now, therefore, only a storehouse of *bric-à-brac* filled with costumes, figures, theatrical machines which still were alarming to women and children; and whence the statesman or the poet, according to the need of the moment, obtained the *burattino* necessary for the best effect of an ode or an oration.[1]

Hence there were no candidates for the sacerdotal offices, even for those formerly most gratifying to family pride. Augustus with difficulty recruited the college of vestals;[3] and being unable or afraid to do anything with Claudius made him an augur. He himself was not devout, in spite of his devotions; it is remembered

[1] In the *Cæsars* of Julian (c. 27) Silenus, reproaching Augustus for having given Olympus a "heap of gods," calls him a "maker of dolls."

[2] Bronze statue whose antique pedestal is adorned with silver leaves. (*Bronzes of Herculaneum*, p. 35.)

[3] Dion, lv. 22.

Venus. Diana. Apollo. Vesta.

Minerva. Jupiter. Juno. Vulcan.

Ceres. Mars. Neptune. Mercury.

The Gods of Olympus, from a Pompeian Fresco.

that he banished Neptune from the games of the circus because the sea-god had favoured Sextus Pompeius; and in the days before he was an important person in the State, he had played with his friends at the twelve great gods of Olympus, omitting in the representation none of their scandalous adventures. "The gods in heaven veiled their faces not to look upon these scandalous adulteries."[1] I know not what Cæsar would have done with the old religion, he who openly in the senate denied the immortality of the soul, and whom no fatal omen announced by the priests ever turned away from any enterprise.[2] Augustus, after he became emperor, believed, as so many others have done, that he could find a power, *instrumentum regni*, in these superstitions which he himself despised, and he essayed to consolidate the official religion with feigned consideration, in order to gain over the innumerable people who lived by it as well as those who continued to take pleasure in it—a false calculation, ever repeated and ever disappointed, for which, however, Augustus should not be too severely blamed, for at that hour, when there was not as yet a glimmer of light on the horizon, we cannot reproach him that he did not foresee the religious future of the world. This old creed rejuvenated by sceptical poets,[3] these pious legends which were now but old wives' fables, *aniles fabulæ*, or magical incantations; these gods whose decayed images were regilded, all this religious rubbish furbished up, and the moralities which the ruler scattered throughout his decrees, his edicts, and his public addresses to conceal the old age of a worn-out religion—that worst of decrepitudes—this all seemed well to him, and sufficed his essentially Roman mind, without depth or brilliancy. Provided he could throw over this corrupt social condition a decent veil, it mattered little to him what was beneath.

Fifty years earlier the same mistake had been made by Sylla,

[1] Suet., *Octav.*, 16.

[2] *Nec religione quidam ulla a quoquam incepto absterritus unquam vel retardatus est* (*ibid.*, 59).

[3] Cf. Hor., *Sat.*, I. v. 101–103:

. . . . *Deos didici securum agere ævum,*
Nec, si quid miri faciat natura, deos id
Tristes ex alto cæli demittere tecto.

Saint Augustine said with good reason: *Poetas Romanos nulli deorum pepercisse* (*de Civ. Dei*, ii. 12).

whose attempt at restoration had been as futile as that of Augustus was to be.

For now the days of Rome were ended and those of the world were beginning. Augustus had only a confused idea of this. Heir of a revolution, and having the duty by organizing it to make it triumph, he looked back and not forward. He had conquered the oligarchy, had caused himself to be appointed perpetual tribune, and he now essayed to found a new aristocracy. At an epoch when State necessity demanded an equality of rights, he established as a rule of the imperial government the separation of citizens and provincials into two peoples. On the eve of the day in which Christianity was to abolish all respect of persons he made enfranchisements more difficult and the concession of citizenship rarer. He was so short-sighted as to believe that, to save Rome and the Empire, it would be enough to introduce order by the aid of old ideas and hypocritical institutions. He therefore expended half a century of effort in striving to revive the old Roman society, with its magistrates, its orders of citizens, its costumes, its religious festivals, at the same time depriving it of the principle of liberty, and imposing upon it a contrary and deadly principle, that of the absolute power of an irresponsible monarch.

From out the order of things founded by Augustus was evolved by degrees an idea till then unknown in the Roman world—an idea which came to the surface again in the modern nations after the great shipwreck of the Middle Ages, namely, the State identified with the person of the ruler, the public functionaries regarded as his servants, the national treasure as his private fortune, the territory of the Empire as his estate. Some even went further and called this man, whom they themselves had made so great, a god. We cannot cry out against this, for under another form we do the same with our "men of destiny." Have we not lately seen the leader of an invasion take Heaven as the accomplice of his iniquities, and attest daily that he was fulfilling a mission "with the aid and by the grace of God!"

Octavius did not disdain the advantage to be derived from this base complaisance. At Rome he did not venture to take to

himself, by his title of Augustus, more than a part of the respect granted to divine beings; but in the provinces, and especially in the East, where every idea assumes the religious form, he authorized his apotheosis, which permitted his successors to obtain the same in Rome itself.[1]

Thus the first emperor, to sanction the power born of the civil wars, timidly attempted what the sacerdotal castes and absolute royalties did openly, namely, to take the gods for his accomplices. The Emperor of China is the Son of Heaven; Louis XIV. and James I. asserted that they were guided by divine inspiration. Likewise Augustus was more than mortal, and Olympus received him after his death.[2] His successors performed miracles which are gravely related by Suetonius and Tacitus. Vespasian healed maladies,[3] as kings in the mediæval period touched for epilepsy; Marcus Aurelius sent dreams which revealed the future; and the most sceptical of the emperors was believed to restore sight to the blind.[4] Must we regard this as a huge and intentional trickery? We have shown how this cult was developed out of existing beliefs. Many doubtless sneered in secret, and sometimes openly, as Seneca, relating the grotesque arrival in Olympus of the divine Claudius. But the crowd, which is the same in all ages, takes delight in marvels, and the majority willingly accepted the new divinities; some because there always seems to be something divine in the great events which begin a new phase of humanity, others because paganism had degraded Olympus with so many vices that, in truth, after having brought the gods down so low, and having raised the chief of the Empire so high, it required no effort for men who believed in fauns and satyrs to believe in the master of twenty-five legions and of the world. Pliny sums up in a single sentence this faith, composed

[1] Upon the true meaning of the word *divus* given to the *consecrated* emperor after his death, see p. 39 and following pages.

[2] I will quote neither Ovid (*Fast.*, i. 609; *Pont.*, iv. 9, 105), nor Virgil (*Georg.*, iii. 16), nor Horace (*Epist.*, II. i. 15), nor Velleius Paterculus (ii. 91), and I pass over the marvels so boldly told by Suetonius (*Octav.*, 6, 94, 97). But here is a passage from Dion: Αὔγουστος ὡς καὶ πλεῖόν τι ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπους ὢν ἐπεκλήθη. Vegetius is still more explicit: *Imperatori, cum Augusti nomen accepit, tanquam præsenti et corporali deo fidelis est præstanda devotio et impendendus pervigil famulatus.*

[3] Suet., *Vesp.*, 7.

[4] Capitol., *Marc. Aur.*, 18; and Spartian, *Hadr.*, 23.

of impiety, baseness, and selfish gratitude: *Deus est*, he says, *juvare mortalem*, he is a god who makes himself the benefactor of men.

This new cult had serious legal consequences. The emperor being made *divus* after his death, must have been partly so during his lifetime. He will soon be considered the incarnation of reason and wisdom, the living law, *lex animata*;[1] and the divine right of kings had its origin in this consent given to the apotheosis of Augustus.[2]

Thus, from the first, the emperor allowed altars to be reared and worship to be paid to him as to a divinity. It was a rash ambition, to impersonate God upon earth. A man should at least find out an aim towards which might be directed the activity of the people whose earthly Providence he had caused himself to be made; without which aim this people, if it is poor, languishes like those Oriental races who for so many centuries spend their life in daydreams under the shadow of their palm trees; or, if it is rich, sinks into the enervating languor of prosperity, dragging out in the midst of corruption a life without honour and without strength. Rome was virtuous and valiant while the enemy was prowling around Latium, and the threatening Hannibal showed clearly where duty lay. In those days there was faith towards the gods, respect towards rulers, and, together with liberty, there was discipline in all ranks and devotion to their country. When the world was conquered and the Republic had perished, this people, who no longer had the care of their own defence nor the responsibility of their own affairs, interested themselves in nothing save in being amused; and Augustus employed his ingenuity and his wealth in making the Roman life a perpetual holiday. He had not created this situation, but he aggravated it. He suppressed political life among a people who had lost the religious, and could not as yet have the scientific, life.

[1] *Constitutio principis vim legis obtinet* (Gaius, i. 2, 5). . . . . *quod principi placuit legis vigorem habet* (Inst., i. 2, § 6).

[2] In the formation of this idea of divine right we must allow its share to the Hebrew custom of consecration renewed by the church for the kings of Europe. Priests and legists, who regard human affairs from different points of view, were brought, the former by biblical, the latter by Roman tradition, to say by the mouth of Bossuet: "O kings, you are gods!" and by that of the French parliament: "*Si veut le roi, si veut la loi!*"

And what did he put in place of all these great voids? Only amusement—*panem et circenses.*

To sum up, the Empire was necessary and inevitable, but to unity of command a unity in the State ought to have corresponded: a political unity, through general institutions having their roots in the cities and rising through the successive grades to the very head of the Empire; a military unity, through an organization which should interest each in the defence of all; and a moral unity, through a community of ideas and sentiments.

Augustus apparently simplified this difficult problem; really, he was able neither to solve it nor even to comprehend it. He constituted for himself a unity of command, and for his subjects he believed that a community of interests would suffice for safety. This selfish union he sought to produce by order, that is to say, by a vigilant police system. But what peace had done, war undid; and the interests which were hurt by palace revolutions, by the condition of the public finances, and by the invasions of barbarians, did not defend a government which, after having promoted them, ended by ruining them.

In the place of Augustus, Cæsar perhaps would have fulfilled this task; and the result was worth the pains of a great effort, for had the Roman Empire been strongly organized it might have held at bay the barbarians and civilized them, as it did the Spaniards and Gauls, and, as we have seen, Augustus undertook to do in the case of the Germanic tribes of the Rhine and Danube.

If from the ruler we turn to the man, it must be confessed one cannot love this character, who had no originality or enthusiasm, who wrote out in advance what he wished to say to his friends and even to his wife, and who by turns did well or ill as interest seemed to him to dictate; cruel in cold blood, clement by calculation; the assassin of Cicero, the protector of Cinna; a Tartufe of piety, but without religion; the model, in fine, of statesmen, if statesmanship be the art of ruling men by terror and deceit. In their greatness Cæsar and Alexander were lovable, Napoleon terrible; Augustus, commanding neither sympathy nor admiration, is not among them, and must take his place far beneath.

At the same time he will remain a great figure in history.

Why? Because he caused 80,000,000 of men to live in peace for forty-four years. "The human race," says Pliny, "decrees him the civic crown."[1]

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 3. Velleius Paterculus sums up the consequences of the establishment of the Empire in these words: *Summota e Foro seditio, ambitio Campo, discordia Curia.* Pliny the younger says the same (iii. 20).

Augustus veiled and crowned with Laurel (Cameo).

NINTH PERIOD.

THE CÆSARS AND THE FLAVII (14–96 A.D.), CONSPIRACIES AND CIVIL WARS.

TEN EMPERORS, OF WHOM SEVEN ARE ASSASSINATED.

CHAPTER LXXII.

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS TO THE DEATH OF DRUSUS (14-23).[1]

I.—Wise Beginnings of Tiberius; Germanicus (14–19).

FROM the beautiful shores of Baiæ, Naples, and Sorrento, we see on the horizon a dark mass rising from the sea, inaccessible save at one point, the island of Capri, whose rocks almost everywhere overhang the waves. Around them still hovers the memory of the terrible old man wasting in debauchery and cruel pleasures the remnant of a life already too long. Tiberius is for ever at Capri; Tacitus has chained his image to the rock. But the isle and the tyrant mutually wrong each other. Capri, beloved of Augustus, was not so terrible,[2] and Tiberius was not always so

[1] This chapter and the following were published by me in 1853 in the form of a Latin thesis; and I change them in no respect. The view I at that time held is the one tending to prevail in England, Germany, and Holland. Cf. Merivale (*History of the Romans under the Empire*, 1865); Stahr (*Tiberius*, 1863); Sievers (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870); Karsten (*de Taciti fide*, etc.); Beesly (*Tiberius*, 1878); Arnold (*The Roman System of Provincial Administration*, 1879); Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, 1870); and Hoeck (*Römische Geschichte*) go even much too far; the latter does not hesitate to say: "*Wer die Reihe der Imperatorem durch Jahrhundert verfolgt hat, und wem Hass und Gunst fern liegen, der muss Tiberius Principat den ehrenwerthesten zuzahlen*" (vol. iii. p. 190).

[2] Capri, which had belonged to Naples, was bought by Augustus in the year 29 B.C. (Dion, lii. 43), whence we infer that this emperor had the intention of building a villa there. Behind

infamous. In this Plessis-les-Tours of the imperial Louis XI. were concealed not so much cruelty and vice as contempt for the human race. He had found them so vile!

To distinguish the good from the ill in the reign of Tiberius is almost a crime; to show that the contemporaries of this emperor were no better than himself, and that there could result only fatal consequences from the situation created for the former by their vices and their recollections—for the latter by his character and by the perils with which he was menaced—would be to expose oneself to the reproach of attempting the rehabilitation of a tyrant. I do not propose, however, to move for a new trial of Tiberius; his condemnation is legitimate, but all the preambles to it are not so; I shall essay to determine those which history should keep.

Tacitus saw in Tiberius mainly the enemy of the senate; we are bound to see the ruler and to cease considering Rome as the whole Empire, thus subordinating the interests of 80,000,000 of men to those of a class which by plots protested against its own abdication. The emperor and the senate, the executive and the conspirators, palace intrigues and judicial murders, doubtless form a scene more dramatic and simpler. At the risk of a little disorder, let us bring upon this narrow stage the people of the provinces.

Tiberius was of that ambitious Claudian family who had had twenty-eight consulships, five dictatorships, seven censorships, and as many triumphs. The marriage of his mother with Octavius and his adoption by Augustus had brought him into the house of the Cæsars. He had loved his brother with devotion.[1] To see

its rampart of perpendicular cliffs Capri presents many beautiful sites, and is renowned for its climate. The narcissus blooms there in December, and all the year round the air is perfumed with the fragrance of aromatic plants. In reading Tacitus we must not forget what he himself says of the training in rhetoric given to the young Romans (*de Orat.*, 35). The characteristic of the literature of this time is a forced and declamatory tone, which exaggerates all things, *ingentia verba*. Petronius also ridicules these athletes of the schools who, when they make their *début* at the bar, seem to fall from another world, so much are they strangers to real life. In their declamations there were always pirates with chains in ambush on the shore, tyrants compelling children to murder their fathers, oracles claiming human victims, etc., etc. *Satyricon*, 2: *Nuper ventosa istæc et enormis loquacitas Athenas ex Asia commigravit animosque juvenum et magna surgentes . . . . adflavit.* In the time of Augustus we find Strabo complaining of the Oriental exaggeration that gained ground in Rome.

[1] Suetonius (*Tib.*, 50) says that he one day betrayed Drusus by showing to Augustus a letter of his brother's, *qua secum de cogendo ad restituendam libertatem Augusto agebat.* Is it needful for me to say that I no more believe in the republicanism of Drusus than in that of

Capri.

him once more, Tiberius travelled seventy leagues in a day; and when he brought back the body of Drusus from the banks of the Rhine to Rome, he walked on foot before the funeral train all the long road. Twenty years later he still was mindful of his brother, whose name he associated with his own upon a temple built with the spoils taken in his victories.[1] He separated from his first wife, to marry Julia, only upon the express command of Augustus, but his heart remained always with Vipsania. "One day when he accidentally met her," says his biographer, "his eyes filled with tears, and remained fixed upon her so long as she was in sight; and it was necessary to guard against Vipsania's appearing before him.[2]

Drusus, brother of Tiberius.[3]

At the age of nine he pronounced in public the eulogy of his father; Augustus had done this at the age of twelve. The Roman youth were trained to eloquence as much as to war: language was the weapon of peace, but we shall shortly see that sanguinary warfare was waged with it. While still a youth Tiberius pleaded before Augustus for king Archelaos, the city of Tralles, and the Thessalians; and in the senate he interceded in behalf of Thyatira, Laodicea, and Chios, destroyed by an earthquake. His first words in public were thus consecrated to the defence of the provincials, and Augustus gave him the honourable mission of going to receive from the Parthians the restored standards of Crassus. All the

Agrippa and Germanicus? The same author accuses him of having been destitute of affection for his son; nature and two authors, Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 61) and Dion (lvii. 22), say the contrary. Tacitus himself tells of the grief of Tiberius at the death of Drusus and of his son (*Ann.*, iv. 8 and 15). The conspiracy against Tiberius subsisted against his memory (*Ann.*, iv. 11 and 33).

[1] Suet., *Tib.*, 20. Tacitus speaks of a friend whom the emperor retained for thirty years, Lucilius, a senator, whose death afflicted Tiberius much: *omnium illi tristium cæterorumque socius* (*Ann.*, iv. 15). He had other friends also: the great jurist Nerva, and Flaccus, who was præfect of Egypt (Philo, *adv. Flacc.*, *initio*).

[2] Suet., *Tib.*, 7.

[3] Agate-onyx in two layers, 48 millim. by 36. Magnificent cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 213.

duties intrusted to him by his adopted father were performed with energy and intelligence; at the time of the war with Marbod he saved the Empire from a dangerous crisis.[1] After the death of Agrippa no general could show more brilliant services. He had fought in Spain and among the Alps, had been governor of Gaul, had given a king to Armenia, and conquered the Pannonians. "Nine times," he himself wrote, "I have been sent by Augustus across the Rhine." He had subdued the Germans, transported 40,000 barbarians into Belgium, and reassured the Empire after the defeat of Varus. With the exception of the period of his stay in Rhodes, he had for thirty years been concerned in the most important affairs, and he entered upon the imperial power full of talents and experience.[3]

Coin of Tralles.[2]

Augustus, long prejudiced against him, ended by regarding him as the best support of the imperial power. "Adieu, my dear Tiberius," Augustus wrote to him. "May you have success of every kind. Adieu, bravest of soldiers and wisest of generals."

Such was the man who, upon the death of Augustus, assumed the imperial power, at the age of fifty-six,[4] his passions cooled, his mind and experience in full maturity. We should add, however, that his morals were probably no better than those of the Roman nobility in general;[5] that his temper was surly, *tristissimus hominum*, says Pliny; that his character was harsh, vindictive, showing no reluctance to shed blood, as with all

[1] See p. 127 *sq.*

[2] ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ. ΠΥΘΙΑ: souvenir of the Pythian games.

[3] *Tantis rebus exercitus*, says Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 11); *tantum rerum experientiam* (*ibid.*, vi. 48). Nothing of what I say concerning Tiberius is taken from Vell. Paterculus or from Val. Maximus, but from Suetonius and Dion, who rarely spare him, and from Tacitus, his avowed enemy. Velleius, who served under him, shows his great military qualities.

[4] Tiberius, who was born November 17th, 42 B.C., was, at the date of his accession, fifty-five years, nine months, and three days old. The statue of Tiberius discovered at Piperno (Privernum) is regarded as *iconic*. It is in the Vatican, *Braccio Nuovo*, No. 494.

[5] I dare not say they were better. However, before the famous orgies of Capri, I do not find him reproached by the soldiers with a love of wine; furthermore, his nick-name, much more than his character, seems to have been a cause of reproach—Biberius, instead of Tiberius Nero, for Suetonius attests (*Tib.*, 18) that in camp he lived as a soldier, eating off the ground and sleeping in the open air.

Statue of Tiberius, found at Piperno (in the Museum of the Vatican).

frequenters of the amphitheatre;[1] that, finally, Augustus was many times obliged to moderate his zeal in punishing every word and act contrary to the new government. These characteristics and the danger of his position explain his reign in advance. It was the reverse of his adopted father's. No more than Augustus does Tiberius show himself a truly great statesman, but he was a good administrative officer, and for the first nine years a mild ruler, because in those nine years he was able, like the emperor, to live easily, by using ordinary skill; towards the end of his life he became cruel like the triumvir, for the reason that he was then encountering the perils and threats which Octavius had met at the beginning of his career.

The critical moment for a government is that of its founder's death. Then alone its nature and duration are determined. Tiberius thought no more than Augustus did of the morrow; he continued his hypocritical moderation, and made it, so to speak, the rule of the imperial government. Hence, those continual alternations of a feigned abandonment of power on the part of the ruler and sanguinary acts of violence in its maintenance; those hopes continually revived only to be continually destroyed, and the oft-evoked phantom of the Republic which ensnared to their death so many generous but credulous men. Besides, the will of Augustus obliged Tiberius to follow this line of conduct. He feigned at first to give up all to the senate and consuls, as if he had doubts concerning his rights. From the palace of the expiring emperor the order had been sent out to the centurion in charge of Agrippa Postumus to put the latter to death. When the soldier came to say he had done it, "I have given no orders," said Tiberius, "you shall account to the senate for this." But no investigation was made in regard to the matter, for no person was interested in the victim.[2]

[1] These continual spectacles of death must have very quickly hardened men's hearts. We read in Pliny (xxviii. 2) that they came to regard it as a sovereign remedy for certain maladies to drink gladiator's blood: *Ut vivente poculo, calidem spirantemque sanguinem.* To this we add the cruelties permitted by the law in the case of slaves, attested by facts which Tacitus relates (*Ann.*, xiv. 42; cf. Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 15) on the subject of Pedanius, Largius Macedo, and Vedius Pollio.

[2] Tacitus accuses Tiberius of this murder. According to Suetonius, it was not known whether Augustus, dying, had left the order, *quo materiam tumultus post se subduceret*, or whether Livia, with the consent of Tiberius or unknown to him, had caused Agrippa to be

Tiberius called the senate together modestly and with few words, "that they might deliberate upon the honours due to Augustus." This reserve was manifested only towards the senators. Imperator, he had written to the legions as emperor; perpetual tribune, he had at Rome received the oaths of fidelity from the people and the magistrates, had given the countersign to the prætorians, and had gathered an escort of soldiers to accompany him to the Forum and even to the Curia; hesitating in nothing or anywhere, except before the senate.

This first session was like many in the time of Augustus; flattery and baseness on the one side, and a feigned disinterestedness on the other; always the same scene so often acted, but this time with the difference that the prince noted the free words and imprudent avowals, and silently marked those whom he considered objects of suspicion to be his victims.

By one of those revolutions so frequent in human opinions, men were more republican at the time of the death of Augustus than they had been immediately after the battle of Actium; and they were to be yet more so at the court of Nero than at that of Tiberius. The Republic, retreating further and further from men's minds and becoming only a memory, was invested with that prestige with which the human mind covers all that is long since past—a fortunate disposition, since in securing our respect for the past, it prevents the present from rushing too eagerly towards the future; but a dangerous illusion when this respect becomes a worship and by this worship men try to restore life to what death has irrevocably smitten. There were, therefore, still republicans, but as nothing had been regulated in respect to the imperial

put to death under a pretended order of Augustus. These words explain the answer of Tiberius, *se nihil imperasse*. Tacitus, Dion, and Suetonius agree in representing this Agrippa as a coarse and ignorant man, stupid in mind and ferocious in temper. Dion adds (lv. 32) that his property had been confiscated, which proves that it was the intention of Augustus that the sentence of banishment passed upon him should be for life, since ordinary banishment did not bring with it the confiscation of property nor even the loss of civil rights. (Cf. Ovid, *Trist.*, V. ii. 56–57; and *Digest*, xxviii. 1, 8; xlviii. 22, fr. 4, 7, § 3; fr. 14, § 1; fr. 17, 18 pr.) Deportation or exile, on the contrary, destroyed all civil rights. The exile was, under the Empire, regarded as civilly dead. (*Digest*, xxxvii. 1, fr. 13 and fr. 7, § 5; *ibid.*, 4, fr. 1, § 8; fr. 5, § 2; xlviii. 12; and Paulus, lib. iii. *Sent.*, tit. 4.) This death of Agrippa was, however, one of those State crimes from which despotism does not recoil. It was brought about doubtless by the attempt a slave had made, on news of the approaching end of Augustus, to carry off Agrippa to the armies in Germany, which a few days later rose in insurrection. (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 39.)

succession, there were also candidates for the Empire. Towards Octavius, the adopted son of Cæsar, the vanquisher of Brutus and Antony, the pacificator of the world, men had willingly assumed the attitude of obedience. It was a time of repose, a dictatorship useful for the reconstruction of the State, and merely lasting longer than Cæsar's. But if an autocracy was necessary, why Livia's son rather than the son of Piso, of Pollio, or of Lepidus? And these nobles who believed themselves worthy of the supreme power were numerous enough, and well enough known for Augustus in his last hours to name them to Tiberius and discuss their chances.[1] One of them ventured to propose to give the new emperor his share;[2] "Let him either accept or waive his claim," exclaimed another; and he had his reasons for hesitation, adds Suetonius, for he was in the midst of perils. He knew this well when he said to his friends in his energetic but often coarse language: "You have no idea what a monster this Empire is," or still better: "I hold a wolf by the ears."[3] We are too apt to forget the immense wealth which some of these nobles had at their disposal, and the pride of these men who, not long ago, untrammelled and masters of the world, could not adapt themselves to their condition of subjects of a ruler and of the law. Their friend Tacitus tells of a young patrician, Sylla by name, who at the theatre refused to yield his place to an ex-prætor, and the latter, a new man, was forced, after long disputes in the senate, to be content with mock amends.[4]

Such were the adversaries by whom Tiberius felt himself surrounded; he had seen them engaged in their conspiracies under Augustus; and he knew them well, for he had filled the post of public accuser against them. But, in addition to this, he had his own personal enemies, the former friends of the young Cæsars and of Agrippa, those who had menaced or had despised him when an exile in Rhodes. There was a formidable account to settle with such a man.

Tiberius opened his reign with favours to the senate.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 13.

[2] This refers to a division of which Dion speaks (lvii. 2). The Empire was to be divided into three parts: Rome and Italy, the armies, and the provinces.

[3] Suet., *Tib.*, 24, 25.

[4] *Ann.*, iii. 31.

Continuing the movement of concentration of all the powers which had been begun by Augustus, he transferred the elections from the Campus Martius to the Curia.[1] Like his predecessor, Tiberius perfectly understood that the crowd of the Campus Martius, easy to deceive, was subject, nevertheless, to sudden vicissitudes, formidable, impossible to prevent or arrest; but that nothing of the sort was to be apprehended in the Curia, where the voting was *viva voce* and under the ruler's eye. The senate, therefore, was heir to the comitia; and, as Tiberius gave it the show of electoral power, he gave it also the show of legislative power. During his reign the comitia passed but two laws;[2] all the legislation was to be accomplished in the Curia by senatus-consulta, or in the palace by edicts,[3] and in the second half of his reign the emperor would not even take the pains to elaborate either of them in the privy council established by Augustus. He suffered the senate, the docile instrument of the imperial will, to encroach upon the other jurisdictions, though multiplying the cases which he reserved for himself. Thus, under the second emperor this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial, held a place even larger than under the first. It occupied the entire stage; but the part which it played there, we must remember, was dictated

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 15 and 81. "This was," says Velleius Paterculus (ii. 124), "the execution of a plan marked out by Augustus." He usually proposed himself the candidates for the titles of consul and prætor. In respect to the other offices, he designated a certain number of candidates whom he sent to the senate—some for that body to make choice among them, others to draw their offices by lot under his supervision. This being done, those who were to fill the curule positions presented themselves to the centuries, and the inferior magistrates to the tribes, where they received the confirmation of their title (Dion, lviii. 20). The electoral comitia played the same part under the Empire that the comitia curiata had played under the Republic since the passage of the laws of Publilius Philo. Hence the saying of Galba in Quintilian (vi. 3): *petis tanquam Cæsaris candidatus.* A like change took place, at a period unknown, in the municipia and the colonies, probably even in leaving some exceptions: the order of the decurions appointed to the magistracies, in virtue of a *Lex Petronia* often mentioned (cf. Orelli, No. 3,679, and n. 3, *ad h. loc.*), but of which we have not the text. Zumpt (*Comm. Epigr.*, p. 60) refers this law to the year 19 A.D. Thus, Rome was governed μοναρχικῶς, and the municipia ἀριστοκρατικῶς. This aristocracy (the order of decurions) eventually became hereditary. In two inscriptions recently found at *Prusias ad Hypium*, one Callicles is called *agonothetes* (president) from father to son of the great Augustan games celebrated every five years in the temple of Augustus and of Rome, and one of the Ten First is called senator and censor for life. (G. Perrot, *Explorat. archéol. de la Galatie.*)

[2] *Lex Junia Norbana*, in the year 19 (cf. Gaius, i. 22; and Ulpian, fr. 1, 10, and 16); and *Lex Visellia*, in the year 23 (Ulpian, iii. 5).

[3] *Senatus-consultum legis vicem obtinet* (Gaius, i. 4). *Non ambigitur senatum jus facere posse* (Ulpian, in *Digest*, i. 3, § 9).

and regulated by the ruler. We have here then the worst thing the world contains: the most absolute dependence under an exterior of strength and liberty. This sham force terrifies even him who gave it, at the same time that it deceives those who receive it.

As to the people, we know well enough what they had been for a century to expect a word of regret or murmur. But the aristocracy were less resigned.

The military despotism whose law is to demand everything from the soldiery, under penalty also of granting them everything, was at the foundation of the government of Augustus. It became apparent on the morrow of his death. One of the two constant alternatives—the supreme power of the ruler and the demands of the armies—showed itself as soon as the new power was believed to be still feeble and timid. The soldiery understood that upon them depended the security of the emperor as well as that of the Empire; and since there were no more civil wars by which they could be enriched, successions to the throne were to serve them instead. Three legions of Pannonia revolted, demanded a denarius daily instead of ten ases, exemption from service after sixteen years instead of twenty, and a fixed sum payable in camp on the day they entered the veteran standing. Tiberius sent them his son Drusus with Sejanus, one of the prætorian prefects, and all the disposable troops in Italy. An eclipse of the moon (September 26th), which terrified the conspirators, brought the revolt to an end.[2]

Drusus, son of Tiberius.[1]

Upon the Rhine it lasted longer, and was more dangerous. Eight legions were there, distributed in two camps under the

[1] Cameo. (*Cabinet de France*, No. 217.)

[2] Drusus put the leaders to death, a needful severity. But Tacitus is ready to accuse him of vindictiveness: *promptum ad asperiora ingenium* (*Ann.*, i. 29).

command of Drusus, governor of Gaul. The demands were the same. In the lower camp the legionaries murdered their centurions, who sought to restrain them; and when Germanicus, then occupied in collecting the revenue, hastened to the camp, they claimed from him their legacy from Augustus and offered him the Empire. At this dangerous word Germanicus cried out that he would sooner die, and seizing his sword turned the point against his breast. "Strike then!" his soldiers exclaimed; and his friends snatching from him his sword, a legionary offered him his, saying: "Take this, the edge is sharper." It was useless to speak of honour and loyalty to madmen like these, who were already estimating what the pillage of the Gallic cities would bring them; Germanicus gave way before the threat of a civil war that the barbarians would not have failed to turn to their own advantage. He feigned to have received a letter from Tiberius granting their demands, and doubling the legacy of Augustus. But he was forced on the moment to satisfy the mercenary soldiery, give dismissals, and distribute bounties; the tribute money just collected, and all the personal funds of the general and his friends were scarcely enough to meet the emergency.

In the upper camp less excitement prevailed. Germanicus went thither, received the oath, and distributed exemptions and largesses. But the envoys of the senate arrived at the altar of the Ubii, whither Cecina had led two of the rebellious legions. The soldiers believed that these messengers brought a decree contrary to the general's promises; especially they suspected the chief of the deputation, the ex-consul Munatius Plancus, of unfriendliness towards them; they insulted him, pursued him to the altar, where he took refuge among the standards, and they would have killed him had it not been for the courage of a standard-bearer and the arrival of Germanicus. This new sedition decided the latter upon extreme measures; he first sent away to the city of the Treviri his wife Agrippina and all his household, with his young son Caius who, born in the camp and reared among the tents, had received from the soldiers the name of Caligula (Little Boots).[1] But the spectacle of women and children of rank

[1] *Quia plerumque ad concilianda vulgi studia, eo tegmine pedum induebatur* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 42).

fleeing from a Roman camp to seek shelter among barbarians caught the attention of the revolted soldiery; it astonished and moved them; they crowded about Germanicus, begging him not to inflict upon them this disgrace; they listened to his reproaches, fell at his feet, and conquered, as the multitude so often is, by a woman, conjured him to punish the guilty. They themselves seized the instigators of the revolt; a tribunal was erected, the legionaries, sword in hand, surrounded it; each prisoner was led up in succession, and if his comrades declared him guilty he was flung down among them and instantly put to death. Two other legions encamped at Vetera Castra followed this example. A victory was needed to expiate these horrors; Germanicus profited by the enthusiasm of his troops and led them against the enemy. Among the Marsi a space of fifty miles was ravaged; a victory gained over an ambushed German force ennobled this too easy expedition.

Caius as a Youth (Caligula).[1]

The avenging of Varus still tarried. In the following spring Germanicus again crossed the Rhine, hoping to profit by the quarrel between Arminius and Segestus, representing the national party and the Roman party, which had lately

[1] A charming bronze statue found at Pompeii in 1824. (*Mus. Borbon.*, vol. v. pl. 26.) Caius, shod with the *caligæ*, whence his name, is clad in a chlamys, over which is thrown the ægis with the Medusa's head. The silver ornaments of his cuirass represent the chariot of the Sun warming the earth, represented below between the sign of Aries and Taurus. This has been understood to be an allegory recording the incident named in the text, which occurred in the month of April.

revived. Segestus had for a moment held his rival a prisoner,[1] but was now in turn besieged and implored the succour of the legions. The Cherusci, menaced by Cæcina, allowed Germanicus to ravage the whole country of the Catti and deliver Segestus. Among the captives was Arminius's wife.

Since the retreat of Segestus, the national party had been in the ascendant, and the last ravages of the Romans, with Arminius's violent complaints, had aroused the tribes to frenzy. A new league was formed, and Germanicus to combat it followed the route his father had opened; a fleet brought four legions to the mouths of the Ems; the Chauci offered auxiliaries, and the Romans advanced as far as the Teutoberg Forest. The army soon came upon traces of the great disaster: the half-ruined ramparts of the camp, bleached bones, heaps of broken weapons, and human heads still attached to the trees. The few eye-witnesses of the disaster who had escaped captivity or death, pointed out the spots where the legates had perished, where the eagles had been taken, the place where Varus had killed himself, and the altars upon which the barbarians had slain the centurions.[2] The legions interred these mutilated remains, a last tribute delayed for six years, Germanicus himself laying the last stone upon their tomb.

Arminius, sharply pursued, fell back fighting; one day he even very nearly succeeded in drawing the Roman army into a marsh, and Germanicus, in turn, was obliged to stop.[3] He regained the river, and went on board his fleet, leaving the cavalry to follow along the sea-shore, and Cæcina with his troops to return to the Rhine by the road of the Long Bridges. Arminius preceded him thither, and while the Romans were repairing the half-destroyed causeway over the marshes, fell upon the working parties, threw disorder into their ranks, and in the evening, turning the streams from the neighbouring hills, he directed them upon the narrow space where the Romans were encamped. The night was frightful; on both sides the Teutoberg Forest was remembered,

[1] There were incessant strifes between these tribes, more unfriendly to each other than to the Romans. A chief of the Amsibarri had also been put in irons by Arminius. (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 55.)

[2] [Cf. the splendid description of Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 69).—*Ed.*]

[3] The campaign ended with an equal advantage on both sides, says Tacitus: *manibus æquis abscessum.* It is the acknowledgment of a defeat.

which the Romans had so lately visited, and Cæcina in a dream beheld Varus rising out of the marsh dripping with blood and holding out his hands to drag the Roman general down. Daylight renewed the combat. "Here is Varus again," Arminius cried; "here are his legions!" And he fell upon the cohorts which, in the muddy ground, could not form in their usual order. The barbarians aimed at the horses in order to increase the disorder. Cæcina's was killed, and the veteran of forty campaigns would have fallen into the hands of the enemy without a vigorous effort of the first legion. The avidity of their assailants saved the army: while they were plundering the baggage Cæcina gained open and solid ground. Here, while the troops were occupied with their scanty meal, suddenly an escaped horse dashed amongst the groups, knocking down and wounding some of the soldiers. A panic ensued; unarmed as they were, the soldiers rushed towards the Decuman Gate. They would thus have thrown themselves into the power of the barbarians, had not Cæcina, finding that neither authority nor entreaties could detain them, thrown himself

The Cuirassed Germanicus.[1]

[1] Museum of Latran. This statue was found at Cervetri in 1839, at the same time that statues of seven other members of the imperial family were discovered: Cæsar, Livia, Tiberius, Drusus, Agrippina, Claudius, and Britannicus.

across the gate, barring the passage with his body, and turned them back. Morning having come, he distributed to the bravest of the soldiers the horses of the centurions and tribunes, and even his own, and held his troops ready behind the entrenchments. The barbarians advanced, crossed the moat, and seized the palisades. At this moment the trumpet sounded and the gates were thrown open; upon the firm ground, the legionaries soon recovered what had been lost, and the barbarians fled. The road to the Rhine was clear; but the rumour of a new disaster had already spread along the river, and it was proposed to cut the bridge by which Cæcina would arrive; but Agrippina opposed this, and on the arrival of the troops she went out to meet them, praising their courage, distributing remedies to the wounded, and garments and money to those who had lost everything—noble conduct, but novel on the part of a Roman matron, and blamed by Sejanus.[1]

Germanicus, surprised by the high tides and storms of the equinox, had been himself in danger.[2] This unlucky campaign cost many lives, and almost all the baggage. The tomb erected to Varus had already been destroyed; the bones of the legions once more scattered over the plain; an old altar set up in honour of Drusus had been destroyed, and the barbarians were besieging one of the forts constructed upon the Lippe. Another expedition was needed to overthrow the confidence of the Germans and destroy the prestige of their arms. Gaul, Spain, and Italy promptly repaired the losses in the army. A thousand vessels were constructed, and Germanicus embarked his troops after fortifying all the valley of the Lippe, which, penetrating into the heart of Western Germany, furnished means of keeping in check the tribes adjacent to the river. By the route of the ocean and the river Ems, eight legions gained the banks of the Weser, which they crossed in the presence of the Cherusci. The barbarians, relying too much upon their courage, united their forces in the "Plain

[1] Tacitus sees no harm in this, of course, and he is right; but the same things done by Plancina are to him violations of feminine propriety (*Ann.*, ii. 55).

[2] Seneca, in his *Suasoria*, has preserved to us a fragment of Pedo Albinovanus in respect to the tempest which so nearly proved fatal to Germanicus. This Pedo is probably the same as the præfect of cavalry mentioned by Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 60), who served in these campaigns.

of the Fairies," Idistavisus.[1] Upon this favourable ground, their superiority in arms and discipline gave the Romans a complete victory. Arminius escaped only by cutting his way through on horseback, having smeared his face with his own blood to avoid recognition. Notwithstanding his wounds, he rallied his forces for another action; it was a second massacre; the butchery lasted for a whole day and a trophy raised by the victors bore the inscription: "The army of Tiberius Cæsar, victorious over the nations between the Elbe and the Rhine, has consecrated this monument to Mars, Jupiter, and Augustus."

This time the disgrace of the Roman arms was effaced. Tiberius wanted nothing more, and the army returned into Gaul, half by land, the rest by the fleet. A storm lasting several days wrecked and engulfed many of the vessels; some were carried as far as the coasts of Britain, others went ashore on unknown territory, and the barbarians made captive many of the conquerors of Idistavisus. At the news of this all Germany was again aroused, but Germanicus rallied his troops and attacked the Catti and Marsi, from whom one of the eagles of Varus was recovered; and the barbarians, surprised at so much vigour, did not attempt to impede the march of the legions towards their winter-quarters (16 A.D.).

On his arrival there, Germanicus found letters from Tiberius calling him to Rome to receive a second consulship and a triumph. He, however, asked for a year more, promising that he would make an end of the barbarians within a few months. "We shall do better," the emperor wrote, "since the honour of Rome is avenged, to abandon them to their own rivalries and internal disputes; it is thus that I reduced the Suevi and their king to peace. If, moreover, hostilities be recommenced, is it not more fitting to leave to Drusus some work, and the sole opportunity for him also to gain the title of imperator?" Tiberius believed this policy good for the Empire and for his own family; but it does not suit Tacitus, who is already preparing his tragic story of the death of Germanicus: the historian is quite sure that he

[1] Grimm (*Deutsche Mythologie*, p. 372) thinks this region was called Idisiaviso, from *Idisi*, fairy. This is the plain on the right bank of the Weser, between the present villages of Hausbergen, Mittekenhausen, Vennebeck, and Holtrup. (Cf. Wilhem, *Germania*, p. 164.)

knows secret reasons which the emperor did not assign, and he describes with much appreciation the noble submission of the victorious general, who, detecting the suspicions of his emperor, quitted the scene of his renown and his too devoted legions.

When Germanicus proposed to Tiberius to subjugate Germany, he was right and the emperor was wrong in refusing it. The true frontier of the Empire was not the Rhine but the Elbe, whither the elder Drusus, Tiberius, and Germanicus had penetrated, and which Domitius had crossed. A subject country for now seventy years, Gaul was becoming rapidly Roman, and it was very necessary to give it for a rampart Latinized Germany. Asia and her nomads come into Europe by way of a vast plain which, turning the Carpathians and the mountains of Bohemia, stretches to the Rhine, the highway of invasion. If Rome, mistress of the great fortress of Bohemia reaching the Danube, opposite the Austrian Alps which were held by the legions, had strongly established herself behind the Elbe, the defence was easy. This line of rivers and mountains which, from the Adriatic to the North Sea, bars the continent, later arrested the Slavs,[1] the Mongols, and the Turks; and it would have arrested the Huns. The shock of these savage hordes, which in Upper Italy and Gaul could enter upon only a little portion of civilized land, would have been broken by a Germany covered with Roman populations and defended by strong cities. After the defeat of Arminius and Marbod the occupation of this territory was not beyond the strength of the Empire, and would have changed its destiny. The occasion then lost was not recovered till, at the end of eight centuries, Charlemagne put an end to Eastern invasions when he forced the Germanic nations to enter into his new Empire of the West. But they entered it only after the great downfall, and had never been touched by the influence of Rome, whence it happened that they have kept up to modern times their native rudeness and that peculiar culture, *das Germanenthum*, so different from the civilization of the Latin races.

[1] About the year 650 the Czechs occupied Bohemia, where they still are, but, perhaps, had the Romans been there they might never have effected an entrance. The frontier of the Danube and the Rhine is a line of nearly 2,500 miles. From the Bohemian mountains to the North Sea by the valley of the Elbe is not over 420 miles.

Statue of Tiberius, found at Veii (Vatican, Museo Chiaramonti, No. 400).

Meanwhile, at Rome, Tiberius governed with wisdom and without violence. He has been accused of leaving Julia to die in destitution and of having caused the death of a lover of his wife's, Semp. Gracchus, banished fourteen years before to the island of Cercina;[1] but for a Roman this harshness was by no means a crime. In the open Forum, a citizen seeing a funeral pass by, called out loudly to the dead man to tell Augustus that his legacies to the people had never been paid. Tiberius, it is said, continued the joke: he caused the citizen to receive his share, then sent him to execution, saying: "Go quickly, and carry the truer report yourself." This is cruel if true;[2] but probably there were many in that age who found the repartee admirable. In a land where it was usual to throw slaves living to the eels, how many would object to the *bon-mot* that cost a poor fellow his life! Tiberius refused the honours and the temples offered to him, forbade men to swear by his name or fortune, refused to be called *Pater Patriæ*, lord, or master, or that men should speak of his divine occupations,[4] and repulsed the base flatteries of the senate as a man might who knew their worthlessness. It was proposed to give his name to the month in

Coin of Marcellus, Governor of Bithynia.[3]

[1] Tacitus (*Ann.*, i. 53) draws a sad picture of this Gracchus: "He made only a perverse use of his eloquence. During the lifetime of Augustus he had corrupted Julia, and their persistent criminality had dishonoured the house of Tiberius. He did not cease to inflame the displeasure of Julia against her husband, and was believed to be the author of the violent letters written by her to Augustus on the subject of Tiberius." Augustus, says Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 24), condemned to death or to exile the accomplices in crime of his daughter and granddaughter; and the historian narrates a suit (ii. 85) instituted against a husband because he had not punished the misconduct of his wife.

[2] Suetonius, who relates this anecdote (*Tib.*, 57), says, however, that Tiberius did not wish to commence his reign with severities, *ne quid in novitate acerbius fieret* (*Tib.*, 25); and Tacitus speaks to the same effect. The story is probably no more truthful than that of the execution of the man who, purposely letting fall in the presence of the emperor a cup of glass which changed shape in falling, gave back to the cup its original form by moulding it in his hands (Dion, lvii. 21). Fabricius says justly concerning this anecdote: *Totius hujus rei famam crebriorem diu quam certiorem fuisse;* and this might be said of many more.

[3] M. GRANIVS MARCELLVS PROCOS. Woman seated, holding a cornucopia. Bronze coin, struck in Bithynia. Unique and hitherto unpublished coin of the *Cabinet de France*.

[4] Dion, lvii. 9. In the year 18, however, we see the duumvirs of Florentia instituting, for the birthday of Tiberius, a public repast preceded by an offering of incense and wine, *genio Augusti et Tiberii*, before their statues set up in a chapel. (Orelli, No. 686.)

which he was born: "What will you do," he said, "when you have thirteen emperors?"[1]

His life was simple, that of a rich citizen; his manners, if not affable, at least polite. He rose in the presence of the consuls, referred most affairs to them, and in every question consulted the senate,[2] accepting contradiction, the tribunes' veto, and even the lessons which "dying liberty"[3] ventured to give him. One Marcellus, a former governor of Bithynia, was accused of extortion and of disgraceful language. This time Tiberius was indignant and wished to speak. "But when?" says a senator. "If before us, your dictate our opinions; if after, I have to fear that my opinion and yours may differ." Tiberius was silent and allowed the senate to absolve Marcellus.[4] Some time after this he forbade investigation to be made concerning libellous language used against himself or Livia.[5] "In a free state," he said, "speech and thought should remain free." And the senate insisting on taking cognizance of these offences: "We

Livia Augusta, as Abundance.
(Statue in the Museum of the Louvre.)

[1] Dion, lvii. 18; Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72; Suet., *Tib.*, 26, 27.

[2] Dion, lvii. 7.

[3] *Vestigia morientis libertatis* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74). See in Suetonius (*Tib.*, 30 and 31) many examples of the authority left to the senate and magistrates: *Cum senatus-consultum per discessionem forte fieret, transeuntem eum in alteram partem, in qua pauciores erant, secutus est nemo.*

[4] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74.

[5] Tac. *Ann.*, ii. 50.

have," he says, "enough affairs of importance without burdening ourselves with these miserable trifles. If you open the door to these accusations, you will be able to do nothing else hereafter,

Remains of the Palace of Tiberius.

and under this pretext they will make use of us to glut every spite." [1]

One Piso, a bitter censor of the time, complained one day of the intrigues of the Forum, the corruption of the judges, and the

[1] Suet., *Tib.*, 28.

cruelty of the orators; he declared that he was about to quit Rome and go to hide himself in some remote and unknown land; and, saying these words, he rose to leave the senate house. Tiberius at first sought to pacify by gentle words this fierce virtue, then had recourse to entreaties, and ended by calling on the relations of Piso to prevent his departure. This same Piso another day brought a suit against a favourite of Livia to obtain a sum of money due to him. All Rome was amazed; the empress complained that she was insulted, and called upon Tiberius to punish the offence. He excused himself, spoke of the law which must be obeyed, and to have peace with his mother promised himself to plead her favourite's cause. He went out from the palace on foot and unattended, walked slowly, stopped to talk with those whom he met, lengthening the time and the road. Meantime, the case was finished, the judges found the award, and Livia sent the money that was claimed.[1] If he refused to do an unjust act at the request of that imperious mother whom he respected to the latest hour of her long life, can it be believed that he showed more complaisance towards others?

Coin of the Fonteian Family.

"He loved liberal acts which had an honourable motive, and he long preserved this virtue. An ex-prætor asked permission to withdraw from the senate on account of poverty; but Tiberius gave him 1,000,000 sesterces. Another had lost his house by the construction of a highway and an aqueduct, and the emperor paid him the value of them."[2] Fonteius offered his daughter to become a vestal; Tiberius did not accept, but gave her a dowry of 1,000,000 sesterces.[3] The grandson of the orator Hortensius, already once rescued from poverty by Augustus, had fallen back into it and begged new assistance: the emperor refused it.[4] Tacitus brings this up against him; but I praise him for it. The

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 34.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 75.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 86.

[4] However, through respect for the senate, he gave 200,000 sesterces apiece to each of the sons of the noble beggar (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 38).

historian himself is constrained to add, in relating other instances of a wise munificence on the part of Tiberius: "In general, he accepted legacies only from his friends, and rejected all those offered him by unknown persons."[1] But, while he relieved honest and virtuous poverty, he was pitiless towards that caused by prodigality and profligacy, as was experienced by Varro, Marius Nepos, Appianus, Sylla, and Vitellius, whom he expelled from the senate.

The testimony which Tacitus is forced to bear in his favour does not prevent that partial writer from going so far as to reproach the emperor for his good sense. The Tiber overflowed and desolated its banks. The senate saw no other remedy than to consult the Sibylline books; Tiberius sent engineers to study the river.[2] He was right; but the historian accuses him, with a great magnificence of empty and sonorous words, of wishing all things divine and human to be mysterious.[3] A man swore by Augustus and the oath was false: he was prosecuted, not for the immoral act, but for the disrespect shown to the divine Augustus. "It belongs to the gods," said Tiberius, "to avenge perjuries and themselves."[4] He complained of the extravagance which carried the wealth of the Empire into foreign lands. When, however, those sumptuary laws were proposed which have never been effectual, he rejected them, but recommended to the ædiles a stricter watch over public morals, and, still better, himself set an example of simplicity, causing to be served upon his own table, even on feast days, what was left from the preceding day's repast.

While he permitted by his silence, in a much talked-of affair, a tribune's veto to triumph over the authority of the senate, and continued his predecessor's labours for the adornment of the city, he, nevertheless, made no base concessions to the popular will.

[1] Dion, lvii. 17: τῶν γὰρ ἀλλοτρίων ἰσχυρῶς ἀπεχόμενος. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 48. What Suetonius relates of Lepida (*Tib.*, 49) is refuted by Tacitus (*Ann.*, iii. 22, 23), and Seneca, who draws a sad portrait of Lentulus, speaks indeed of his 400,000,000 sesterces, but not of the conduct of Tiberius (*de Ben.*, ii. 27).

[2] The Tiber is subject to enormous freshets (see vol. i. p. 83). The office of inspector of the Tiber became permanent. Cf. Mommsen, *Inscr. Neap.*, No. 2502–3, or 5944; and Orelli, Nos. 1117, 2284, etc.

[3] *Ann.*, i. 76 . . . . *perinde divina humanaque obtegens.*

[4] *Ann.*, i. 73 . . . . *deorum injurias dîis curæ.* The jurisconsults made of this a crime punishable by law. See p. 40.

Augustus regarded it as a duty to be present at all public amusements, and owed to this deference a part of his popularity. Tiberius despised methods like these, and left the populace to amuse itself without him. He even limited the expenses of the games; he reduced the salaries of actors and forbade senators to visit the houses of buffoons and knights to be seen with them in public. Actors might give performances only upon the stage, and a senatus-consultum invested the prætor with the extravagant right of condemning to exile turbulent spectators. Disorders having occurred in the theatre, he exiled the chiefs of the rival factions as well as the actors about whom the dispute had occurred, and never yielded to the solicitations of the people for their recall.

Of all the pleasures of the crowd the most relished were the Atellane farces and the gladiatorial games. Tiberius repressed the licence of the former and permitted the latter to take place but rarely.[1] Even, according to Tacitus, who doubtless forgot himself here, he reproached his son Drusus with exhibiting too much pleasure at the sight of blood.[2] He would have been glad to extirpate the superstition which grew in proportion as the official religion declined. Magicians were banished: one was precipitated from the Tarpeian Rock, another executed "after the ancient manner." The Egyptian and Jewish priests were expelled, with their followers.

The multitude cried out against the tax of one per cent. upon sales. Tiberius, who introduced strict economy into the finances, replied that this was the sole support of the army. But later, when the matter had passed from men's minds, he granted a reduction of one half; the tribute of Cappadocia, made into a province, filling the deficit.[3] In the year 19 corn was dear and famine impending; the emperor did what was done for the first time in France in the famine of 1853: he maintained the corn at its usual price for the buyer, but compensated the

[1] Suet., *Tib.*, 34 and 47. After the great disaster to the amphitheatre of Fidenæ, in 28 A.D., he caused it to be decided by the senate that it should be prohibited to any to give gladiatorial combats *cui minor quadringentorum millium res* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 63).

[2] *Ann.*, i. 76.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42. Dion (lviii. 16) says that he reduced it to the original rate; but there is still question under Caligula (Suet., *Cal.*, 16) of the *ducentesima*.

seller, making them allowance for the difference, two sesterces the bushel.[1]

Rome was always in danger of famine, since "the life of the Roman people was at the mercy of winds and waves." Italy, in fact, changed, especially near the city, into pleasure gardens, and ruined by the rivalry of foreign grain, could no longer feed her inhabitants. Tiberius, to revive agriculture, renewed a law of Cæsar, obliging the rich to put a part of their fortune into Italian lands.[2] The roads were not yet safe; he multiplied military posts, and repressed with severity all acts which endangered the public peace. The inhabitants of Pollentia had extorted by violence from the heirs of a person whose funeral procession passed through their city the sum necessary for a combat of gladiators. Tiberius instantly despatched thither two cohorts, who entered the city sword in hand; many decurions and notables were seized and put in irons, whence they were never set free. The emperor thus made it evident to all the municipalities in the Empire that he held them responsible for the disorders which they did not punish.[3]

The soldiers, who had inaugurated this reign by a revolt, were not slow in understanding that they had a master to whom their obedience must be unquestioning. Tiberius withdrew the concessions he had at first made them; the veteran standing was put off till the end of twenty years, and even then but rarely allowed. Later, at an epoch when he needed the prætorians, he refused them permission to sit with the knights at the theatre, and severely reprimanded the author of this proposal for wishing to corrupt these rude minds and destroy discipline.[4] He doubled for the legions the legacy of Augustus, but this was the sole largess they had from him. After the death of Sejanus the legions of Syria alone received some gifts, because they had never placed the likeness of the favourite among their standards.[5] This severity

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 87. I refer to the ingenious combination of under-tax and over-tax devised by M. Haussmann, constituting for the benefit of the Parisian populace an insurance against a high price of bread.

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 16, 17.

[3] Suet., *Tib.*, 37.

[4] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 3, 4.

[5] Suet., *Tib.*, 48.

was successful, and he had never during all his reign a mutiny to suppress.

In respect to the provinces he continued the policy of Augustus. If he dared not, like his predecessor, absent himself from Rome in order to visit them, having neither an Agrippa nor a Mæcenas upon whom he could rely in his absence, he at least sent them the ablest governors, who maintained order, and by useful public works increased their prosperity. Africa still retains a bridge of the time of Tiberius. He avoided augmenting the tributes and relieved excessive destitution. Twelve cities of Asia, ruined by an earthquake, were exempted by him from all taxes, and Sardis, the one which had suffered most, received from him 10,000,000 sesterces.[1] Certain governors manifesting too keen an interest in their treasury: "A good shepherd," he said to them, "shears his flock, not flays it." In Egypt the harvest of the year 18 had been bad; corn was dear; Germanicus employed the reserves of the State, and kept the price low by opening the public granaries.[3] The provinces, therefore, testified their gratitude: some by erecting temples to the divinity of the emperors, others, as Gaul and Spain, by spontaneously furnishing the armies all the aid of which they had need. Macedon and Greece offered a still higher compliment to the imperial government: they requested, as a remedy for all their troubles, to pass from the administration of the senate's proconsuls to that of the emperor's lieutenants.

Coin commemorative of services rendered in Asia.[2]

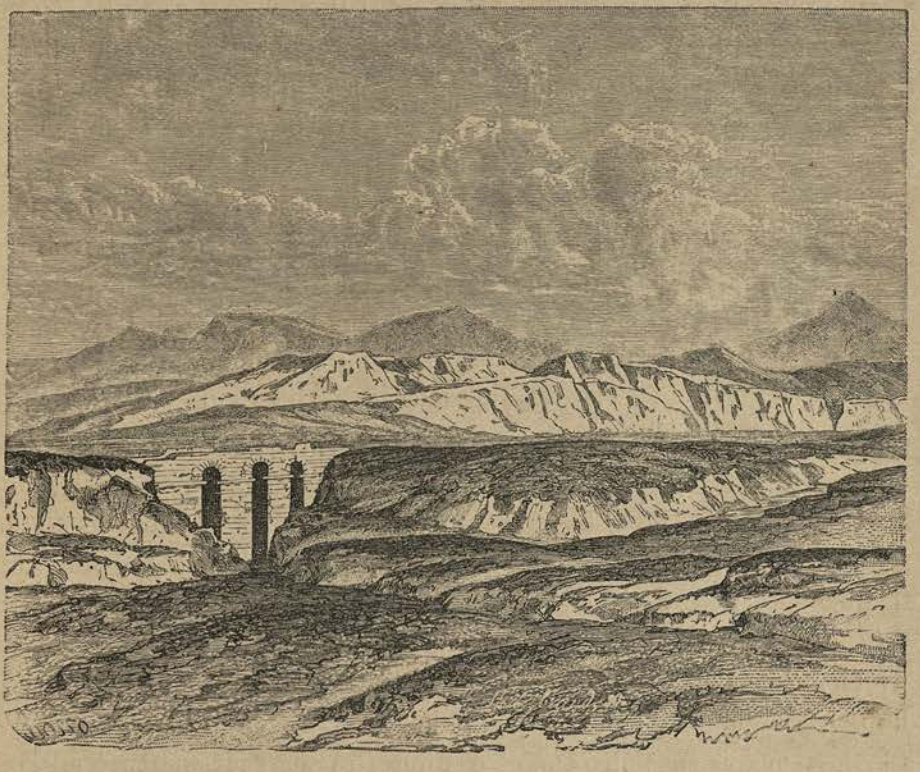
The Empire, then, was wisely and mildly governed. But, seeing the gentleness of the new emperor, the nobles grew bolder. One Piso maintained in the very face of Tiberius that, in the ruler's absence, the senate should still continue its deliberation and action.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 47; cf. Dion, lvii. 17. An inscription recently found at Mylasa calls Tiberius τὸν ἑαυτῆς (the city) εὐεργέτην (*Bull. de Corresp. hellénique*, January, 1881, p. 41).

[2] Tiberius, laurel-crowned, seated in a curule chair, holding a patera and a sceptre; around, the legend: *Civitatibus Asiæ restitutis*. Large bronze of Tiberius.

[3] *Ann.*, ii. 59.

This proposal, which displaced the sovereign power, was rejected only after long and doubtful discussion. The same Piso is he whom we shall see audaciously reviving the habits of the last days of the Republic, arming his slaves, levying troops, and of his own authority declaring war upon a Roman general, to make forcible entry into a province. Another, one of those whom Augustus

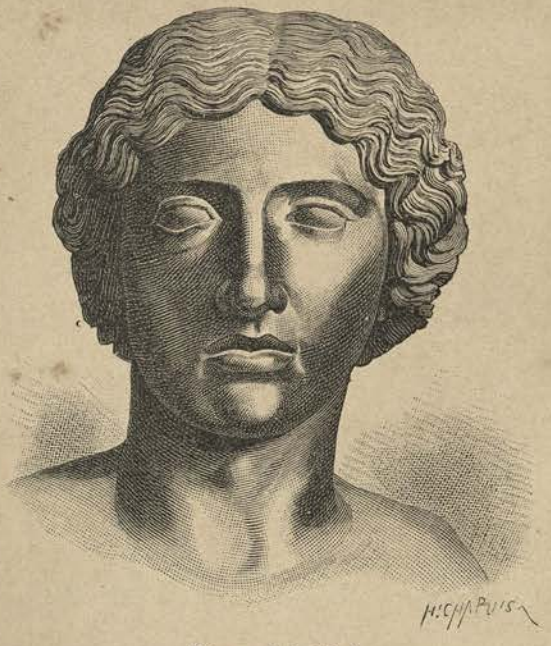


Remains of a Bridge of Tiberius in Tunisia.[1]

had designated as very eager to share his heritage, Gallus, made the proposal that magistrates should be designated five years in advance. This was to disarm the supreme authority and give the magistrates elect a dangerous influence. As Piso desired that the senate should take its political powers seriously, so others wished it to exercise its electoral right with independence. Germanicus and Drusus united in supporting very earnestly one of their relatives for the prætorship; the senate long repulsed him,

[1] Upon the Oued-Badja, from an unpublished drawing by M. Tissot, French Ambassador.

and the candidate of the Cæsars and the court obtained his election only by a very small majority.[1] Thus the Conscript Fathers were quite willing to resume their old place, while keeping, of course, all the new powers which had been given them. I have criticized the institutions of Augustus, but between the authority of one man and that of an assembly such as the senate, I take without hesitation the side of the emperor.



The aged Livia.[2]

The secret sentiments of the patriciate are shown more clearly in the double attempt of Libo and Clemens. One was a young patrician, related to the imperial family, to whom the astrologers, then much in vogue, had promised a high fortune. This time it was not an affair of imprudent words merely: tablets were found on which the names of Tiberius and some senators were preceded by mysterious notes. Libo, evidently guilty, took his own life.[3] Two of the astrologers were put to death, and the rest, with all the magicians, were expelled from Italy. Clemens was a slave belonging to Agrippa Postumus, who sought to pass himself off as his master. Secretly encouraged by knights and senators, and even by persons belonging to the imperial household, he gathered some partisans. It was reported that he had landed at Ostia, and clandestine gatherings were taking place in the city. Two

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 51.

[2] Bust in the Museum at Naples.

[3] Suetonius (*Tib.*, 25), who speaks of the dangers by which Tiberius was threatened on every hand, *undique imminentium discriminum*, speaks of the conspiracy (cf. Dion, lvii. 15), and its serious character is indicated by the fact that in the municipia festivals were established from the 10th to the 13th of September, commemorative of the discovery of Libo's plot. Cf. Orelli, chap. xxii., *Fastes d'Amiternum*.

emissaries, who had succeeded in deceiving his vigilance with offers of their support, one night captured him and brought him before Tiberius. "How did you become Agrippa?" asked the emperor. "And how did you become Cæsar?" retorted the slave boldly. He was put to death within the palace, but Tiberius forbade search to be made for the other conspirators.

Agrippina (Bust in the Campana Museum).[1]

Nearer home Tiberius found domestic vexations: Livia, accustomed to the consideration shown her by Augustus, believed herself still the empress, and insisted on being listened to. Drusus, the son of Tiberius, had done nothing, and gave promise neither of talents nor merit. The fidelity of Germanicus we do not doubt, but the daughter of Julia could not forget the authors of her mother's ruin. Eager for power, proud of her birth, of her numerous children, of her virtue, and of the people's love for the conqueror of Idistavisus, Agrippina openly defied the widow of Augustus, and would not suffer the wife of Drusus as her equal.[2] These rivalries of the women

[1] H. d'Escamps, *Descr. des Marb.*, etc., No. 66.

[2] *Paulo commotior, ... indomitum animum* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 33). Cf. *Id.*, ii. 43, and ii. 72: *exueret ferociam . . . . neu . . . . æmulatione potentiæ validiores irritaret.* He represents her, *æqui impatiens, dominandi avida* (vi. 25).

divided the court, and gave rise to hatred which courtiers exacerbated.

Tiberius had recalled Germanicus from the shores of the Rhine in order to remain free to follow upon that frontier the policy of Augustus, which he had himself put in practice there. He permitted the general to enter Rome in triumph, his five children with him in his chariot and his captives behind them, among them Thusnelda, the widow of Arminius. The emperor also erected a triumphal arch in his honour, and caused coins to be struck with this device, designed to immortalize his glory and still existing: *signis receptis, devictis Germanis;*[2] lastly, after distributing, in the name of Germanicus, 300 sesterces apiece, he shared with him the consulate for the following year. Of this Germanicus did not take possession until he was sent into Greece at the close of the year 17.

Coin commemorative of the Victories of Germanicus.[1]

Artabanus III.[3]

Since the time of Caius Cæsar no member of the imperial family had been seen in the East. It was needful, however, that they should sometimes present themselves there. At this time the Parthians were again showing hostility. They had driven out Vonones, the king whom the Romans had given them, and put in his place the Arsacid Artabanus. Vonones, who had withdrawn into Armenia, caused himself to be proclaimed king there, and Artabanus was intending to pursue him thither. To avoid a war with the Parthians the governor of Syria enticed Vonones into his province and detained him there. This was but a temporary solution, and Tiberius explained to the senate the necessity of intervention. If the Roman power was not carried forward upon the Rhine, at least it must not be set back upon the Euphrates.[4] Moreover, the old

[1] Germanicus in military costume, standing, his right arm raised and a sceptre in his hand. Bronze coin in the *Cabinet de France.*

[2] Eckhel, *Doctr. numor.*, vi. p. 209; Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 42.

[3] From a silver coin in the *Cabinet de France.*

[4] Josephus goes further; according to him (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3), and he was well informed upon these points, the new king of the Parthians had already established his own son upon the throne of Armenia.

king of Cappadocia, who had formerly offended Tiberius, had just died at Rome, whither he had been summoned, and his kingdom had been united to the Empire; it was necessary to organize it as a province. Commagene and Cilicia Aspera, for some time without kings, were full of disorder;[1] Syria and Judæa clamoured for a reduction of the tribute. "Germanicus alone," Tiberius said, "can calm by his wisdom the disturbances in the East, since I am now in the decline of life, and Drusus has not yet attained maturity." A decree of the senate gave to the young general the government of the provinces beyond the sea, with power superior to that of all the governors. We may call it an exile if we choose, but we must admit that it conferred honour, and was in accordance with the true interests of the Empire.[2] Tiberius at the same time sent Drusus into Pannonia to keep watch upon the movements of the Suevi.

The task of Drusus was the simpler; it was only to look on peacefully at the interior distractions of Germany which Tiberius had so well foreseen. Under the double pressure exercised by Rome along the Rhine and the Danube, two powerful leagues had been formed: in the north, that of the Cherusci, under Arminius and his uncle Inguiomar, an old warrior who in every engagement rivalled the younger chief in courage; in the south, that of the Marcomanni, under Marbod, who, at the head of 80,000 soldiers, had spread terror and obedience around him. His conduct, or, as many Germans said, his treason, after the defeat of Varus, had detached from him many tribes. The Senones and the Longobardi, his allies, had gone over to the Cherusci; but Inguiomar, eclipsed by Arminius and angry at being reduced to serve under him, had presented himself with all his people in the camp of Marbod. Germany was now divided between these two men, who fought for the supreme power. The action was fierce but indecisive. Marbod, drawing off first to the hills, made confession of defeat; he soon made his way into Bohemia and asked succour from the emperor. "You have not aided us against the Cherusci,"

[1] Cilicia Aspera retained its own chiefs up to the time of Vespasian.

[2] Tacitus here condemns the suspicions which he afterwards favours on the question of the emperor's complicity in the death of Germanicus when he says: *Se tutiorem rebatur, utroque filio legiones obtinente* (*Ann.*, ii. 44).

Tiberius said, "you have no right to count upon our assistance." However, he sent Drusus to finish by intrigue what had been prepared by arms, the destruction of this great barbarian kingdom. Marbod, disgraced by his defeat, saw his subjects revolt and his lieutenants betray him. A chief of the Gothones, Catwald, supported by Roman gold, and secretly summoned by the chiefs of the Marcomanni, took the royal city of Marbod. Tiberius, with proud gratification, explained to the senate the measures which had brought about the downfall of this formidable king, and showed the letters of Marbod asking permission to live in Roman territory.[1] Ravenna was assigned him as a place of residence. Catwald shortly after, being driven out by the Hermonduri, came also to beg an asylum, and was sent to Fréjus (19 A.D.). The followers of these chiefs were separated from them lest their turbulence might cause trouble in these two cities, and they were allowed to establish themselves beyond the Danube in Moravia, where Vannius, the Quadian, was given them as king. Many Suevic tribes attached themselves to this little state, which was placed within reach of the legions and long remained faithful to the Empire.[2]

The power of the Marcomanni was destroyed, and that of the Cherusci gave way the same year. A chief of the Catti having offered to poison Arminius, Tiberius replied, as Fabricius had done: "It is not in the dark and by perfidy that the Romans avenge themselves, but openly and by arms." This ostentatious heroism had nothing dangerous in it: Arminius was now surrounded by enemies. Unduly elated by his early successes, he had thought to be a king, and now fell by the hand of his own people at the age of thirty-seven. In the eyes of Germany his death expiated his ambition, and he is remembered only as the liberator of his country. "He is still celebrated in song," says Tacitus, "by the barbarians." Time made him almost a god. When Charlemagne penetrated into the sanctuary of the Saxons he found the Arminius-Saül, a mysterious symbol representing at once fatherland, a god, and the hero. In our own days poetry evokes his memory,

[1] *Lætiore Tiberio quia pacem sapientia firmaverat quam si bellum per acies confecisset.* (Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 64).

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 63.

modern bards have celebrated it, and his name recurs in war-songs composed against the new Empire of the West.

Germany, once so threatening, was now reduced to anarchy, given back to weakness and impotence. Policy had been more successful than arms in this instance. Tacitus should have owned that Tiberius had heard in advance his homicidal wish when, in view of a battlefield where lay 60,000 barbarians slain by their brethren, the historian exclaims: "May the nations, since they love us not, at least persevere in their hatred of each other, since Fortune can give us nothing better than the discords among our foes!"[1]

The same conduct had in the East the same success. Germanicus travelled slowly, visiting famous places and celebrated sanctuaries: Actium, Delos, Athens, which with gratitude saw him enter her gates attended by only a single lictor; Samothrace, where he caused himself to be initiated into the Cabeiric mysteries; and Ilium, which was regarded as the cradle of Rome. Along his route he repressed the jealousies of cities, the tyrannical excesses of magistrates, and carried everywhere the pass-word of the new government, justice and peace. In Armenia he established as king the son of a faithful ally of the Empire, the king of Pontus Polemo, and with his own hand crowned him in Artaxata. The choice was good; the case of Vonones had proved that Roman policy overshot the mark when it gave the people of the East over-Romanized kings. The new prince had long since adopted the customs, the dress, and all the tastes of the Armenians, and the nobles and an immense population received him with enthusiasm. The regulation of the affairs of Cappadocia was still more simple: a *formula* was given to the new province; the cities were designated in which the governor would establish his tribunal; and, that the people should be the gainer by this change, the tributes paid to their kings were somewhat reduced. The same was done in Commagene. In Syria, Germanicus

Germanicus and Artaxias.[2]

[1] Tac., *Germania*, 33.

[2] GERMANICUS ARTAXIAS. Germanicus standing, placing a tiara on the head of Artaxias. Silver coin. [A custom-house tariff, recently found at Palmyra, shows that this town was already in Tiberius's reign in a state of semi-subjection to the Empire.—*Ed.*]

met envoys from the Parthian king. Artabanus desired a renewal of the alliance, an interview with Germanicus on the banks of the Euphrates, and the removal of his own competitor. There were no reasons for rejecting these overtures: Vonones was banished to Cilicia,[1] where the following year he perished while attempting to escape.

In Thrace, one of the two kings had killed the other. The division of the country in this way between Cotys and Rhescuporis had been established by Augustus; Tiberius, who made it a duty to follow his predecessor's example, charged the governor of Mœsia to prevent the re-union of Thrace into one state. Rhescuporis, enticed to a conference, was seized and carried to Rome, whence he was sent to Alexandria, and there, some time later, was put to death under pretext that he had sought to make his escape. His son retained the father's kingdom, and the children of Cotys had that of their father under the guardianship of a Roman commissioner. The widow of Cotys had appeared before the senate praying for vengeance, so that Tiberius, while giving this severe lesson to the allied kings, appeared only as the disinterested judge of the guilty and the protector of orphan children.

A more serious affair had commenced the preceding year (17 A.D.) in Africa. In this province the Romans had not met that religious opposition which is the foundation of the most obstinate resistances; and the contrast of manners had been softened by the neighbourhood of Carthage and the influence of Græco-Latin civilization. All the sea-coast was becoming Roman. But beyond the Atlas, in the deserts, were wandering nomads to whom the prosperity of the Tell offered the liveliest temptations. A Numidian, a deserter from the legions, Tacfarinas, gathered in the mountains a few bandits, then a troop of them,

Moneta castrensis.[2]
Coin struck for the payment of the legions in the war with Tacfarinas.

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 68.

[2] Cf. *Revue archéol.* of September and October, 1878.

and finally an army, which he trained after the Roman fashion. The Musulames, on the edge of the desert, declared for him, persuaded their neighbours the Mauri and the great tribe of the Cinithians to do the same, and carried fire and sword among the villages. The proconsul Camillus was obliged to march against them with a legion. Tacfarinas accepted battle, but his Numidians being not yet well enough trained he was defeated. Tiberius, gratified at the success of this energetic act, which gave back security to one of the great corn-growing provinces, sent the insignia of a triumph to the victor. He also gave an ovation to Germanicus and Drusus, both of whom had gained victories of the kind dear to Tiberius, by policy, without drawing the sword.

It is in the midst of this prosperity, this condition of peace and renown, that we hear of the most odious crime of Tiberius, the poisoning of Germanicus. In monarchical governments—whether with intention, or as the inevitable result of the situation—there is always a prince who seeks popularity or upon whom it is bestowed. This idol of the people, about whom all hopes centred, had been Marcellus, dead at the age of twenty, and then Drusus, dead at thirty, *breves et infaustos populi Romani amores;*[1] and it was now the young general of the army of the Rhine, pacificator of the East. Beloved by the soldiers for his courage and military tastes, by the literary men of Rome for his mental gifts,[2] by the crowd for his virtues, for his numerous and beautiful family, by all, finally, for his moderation, his affable manners, and gentle conduct, Germanicus, without consent or wish of his own, had become in the opinion of many the secret rival of Tiberius. The more men felt the power of the one, the more persistently they looked towards the other as the coming restorer of Roman liberty. This false position must necessarily suggest to popular credulity, in case of any fatal event, the drama which the gloomy imagination of Tacitus has so eloquently composed.

[1] A fine phrase, in which the poet-historian insinuates a suspicion, so much more occupied is he with the turn of his periods than with fidelity to the facts. (*Ann.*, ii. 41.) It is known that Marcellus died of illness, possibly of medical maltreatment, and that Drusus was killed by a fall from his horse.

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 83; Ovid, *Fasti*, i. 24; *Epp. Pont.*, IV. viii. 67. He composed Greek comedies, etc., Weichert, *Imp. Aug. scriptor: reliqq.*, p. 186. M. Egger is doubtful of this, *Hist. d'Aug.*, p. 116.

But a man like Tiberius, serious, reflective, always considering his own interests, and, as Tacitus is forced to show him to us twenty times in the senate, completely master of himself—a man like this commits no useless crime. The death of his adopted son did not take from him a dangerous rival, for he knew Germanicus to be incapable of treason, and, on the other hand, it deprived him of a much needed support. Germanicus alive, Germanicus faithful to the habits of obedience and the discipline introduced by Augustus into the imperial family, was an obstacle to the designs of ambitious or visionary men; Germanicus gone, the way was open to guilty schemes and revolutions; for to his enemies' hopes Tiberius had nothing better to oppose than his son, the incapable Drusus. But when have men ever seen a personage of importance die in the flower of his age without believing in mysterious plots?[1] Here the instrument of the crime is said to have been Piso.

This man was a patrician of haughty and violent character, who considered himself as high in rank as the emperor, of higher rank than Drusus and Germanicus, and whose fits of passion in the senate we have already mentioned. He had been made governor of Syria while Germanicus was in the East. Tacitus maintains that the selection was made with intention. Piso and his wife Plancina, the *confidante* of Livia, knew the hatred of the old empress for Agrippina, and Tiberius placed near the young general a vigilant guardian of the emperor's interests. Perhaps exaggerating imprudent words, the husband and wife felt themselves encouraged to preserve no moderation or respect in their conduct towards Germanicus and Agrippina. Did they go further? I find it difficult to accept the part assigned to this severe person, the son of a man whom Augustus had been obliged to solicit before he would deign to accept the consulship, and who himself had more than once manifested his independence in the face of Tiberius. Even Tacitus dares not assert anything.[2] Germanicus had wished to visit Egypt and its marvels. Although he made the journey

[1] Tacitus himself says, on the subject of another death: *Atrociore semper fama erga dominantium exitus* (*Ann.*, iv. 11).

[2] He gives it to be understood that Germanicus was the victim of assassination, but is forced to avow that Piso exculpated himself completely in the trial.

without display and as a private individual, it was none the less an infraction of the rules of Augustus.[1] Tiberius reproved him sharply for setting an example of disobedience to the laws, but allowed him to finish his journey, and at that very moment caused an ovation to be decreed to him in recompense for his services in the East. Upon his return into Syria, Germanicus found all the arrangements that he had made changed by Piso. Violent altercations broke out between them, and the intractable governor, rather than yield, preferred to leave his province. The news of the severe illness of Germanicus arrested Piso at Antioch; but the recovery of the prince was quickly announced, and Piso, displeased at the rejoicings instituted in consequence, continued his journey, and reached Seleucia, where the report of an alarming relapse again detained him. Among the persons surrounding Agrippina there was talk of poisoning. There had been found on the ground and along the walls of the palace dead men's bones, magic characters and talismans, leaden tablets with the name of Germanicus engraved on them, ashes moistened with blood, charred fragments, and other devices by which it was believed a victim could be most surely devoted to the infernal gods. Emissaries sent by Piso, who came to spy out the progress of the illness, made it manifest from whose hands the blow had come. So the friends of Germanicus said, but he repelled these suspicions. No man would write to his murderer to renounce his friendship and break with him; but such was the letter which Germanicus addressed

Coin of Seleucia.[2]

Seleucia (personified).[3]

[1] Philo (*in Flacc.*) and Trebellius Pollio (*in Æmil.*) show that there was danger of a riot in Alexandria if any one should show himself there with the consular *fasces* or with royal pomp. According to Cicero (*adv. Gabin.*), this was an old claim of the Alexandrians, and Cæsar relates (*Bell. civ.*, iii. 106) that the war he was obliged to carry on in Alexandria began on this pretext. We have here one of the rational and judicious reasons which caused Cæsar and Augustus to decide that only knights could be præfects in Egypt. When Gallienus wished to appoint a proconsul to this office, the Egyptian priests opposed it, calling on the ancient right of the city. We have seen with what excess of precaution Augustus had decreed that, without his express permission, no senator should enter that province.

[2] Mount Casius within a temple. This mountain, behind Seleucia, rises to a height of 5,315 feet.

[3] From a tetradrachm of that city.

to Piso.[1] The malady assumed new forms, and a ray of hope was entertained, but suddenly Germanicus grew worse and expired, calling, according to Tacitus, upon his father to avenge his death, and advising his wife to abate her pride and relinquish her desire for power. He was but thirty-four years of age (October 10th, 19 A.D.).[2]

[1] *Componit epistolas quis amicitiam ei renuntiabat* (*Ann.*, ii. 70). Tacitus sees all things in a fashion so tragic that, forgetting that the father of Germanicus had died from the effects of an accident, he dares to say of father and son: *neque ob aliud interceptos quam quia populum Romanum æquo jure complecti, reddita libertate, agitaverint* (*Ann.*, ii. 82).

[2] If we leave out of the account the words of the dying Germanicus, which are but a school declamation—if we think it improbable that a man exhausted by repeated attacks of disease, should be capable of saying adieu to life with such eloquence and majesty—unless, like Julian, he had under his pillow a set discourse long since prepared for the occasion—we shall find, as proofs of poisoning, only the following facts. In Tacitus: 1st, the hatred of Piso and Plancina towards Germanicus; 2nd, magical incantations; 3rd, the poison said to have been mixed by Piso in the food;—in Pliny (xi. 71) and in Suetonius (*Calig.*, 1): 4th, the body of Germanicus covered with livid spots, foam at the mouth, and the fact that after the body was burned the heart was found unconsumed; in support of this theory are further adduced: 5th, the words of Tacitus: *Scripsissent expostulantes quod haud minus Tiberius quam Piso abnuere;* 6th, the sudden death at Brundusium of Martina, a noted poisoner, just as she was about to be put on trial for the murder; 7th, a manuscript seen in the hands of Piso; 8th, the joy of Tiberius and Livia; 9th, the funeral of Germanicus, at which no pomp was displayed. The first of these arguments proves nothing; the second and fourth are ridiculous. That, to satisfy her hatred Plancina, doubtless very credulous, like all the women of her time, should resort to sorcery, is by no means surprising; but from sorcery to poisoning is a long way. Many persons in the Middle Ages without remorse "bewitched" those whom they would not have dared to murder. The livid spots and foam at the mouth are by no means sure marks of poisoning; moreover, had these spots been visible Tacitus certainly would have said so, for the body was publicly exposed in Antioch. As to the third point, Tacitus himself undertakes it refutation; in illness produced by poison there is no intermittence; but Germanicus seemed to have recovered, and so completely that his family performed the vows they had made in his behalf, and he then again fell ill. Again, poisoning is a crime which can only be committed with the greatest secrecy. Piso, on the contrary, is mad with hate; he declares his resentment loudly, without caring, as his son says, for absurd suspicions and malevolent rumours. Tacitus indeed declares that the accusation appeared to be refuted: *Solum veneni crimen visus est diluisse; quod ne accusatores quidem satis firmabant, in convivio Germanici, quam super eum Piso discumberet, infectos manibus ejus cibos arguentes. Quippe absurdum videbatur inter aliena servitia et tot adstantium visu, ipso Germanico coram id ausum; offerebatque familiam reus et ministros in tormenta flagitabat.* It is impossible to give to the corrupt text quoted under No. 5 the significance which has been attached to it. (See Burnouf, notes *ad Ann.*, iii. 14.) No. 6: we do not know anything about this Martina, and can infer nothing from her death. No. 7: that a book was seen in the hands of Piso is a report of which Piso's testament effectually disposes. No. 8: if we may believe Tacitus, the emperor and Livia both concealed their satisfaction; and he himself tells us that Tiberius was averse to the tumult of funeral solemnities. Josephus attests that after the death of Drusus he forbade access to his house, fearing that the grief of his son's friends, loudly manifested, would increase his own (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8). Dion cites another example of this (on the death of the emperor's grandson), adding: "He thought that any other conduct was unworthy of an emperor" (lvii. 14; cf. lvii. 22). Seneca (*Cons. ad Marc.*, 3) extols Augustus as *victor dolorum*, as Saint-Simon and Voltaire praise the firmness of Louis XIV. in his afflictions. No. 9: the funeral was not without pomp; the story of Tacitus

Before his body was burned it was exposed uncovered in the forum of Antioch; Agrippina collected the ashes with pious care, and, though it was winter, at once embarked for Italy with the precious remains. As soon as her approach was signalled the people of all the neighbouring towns flocked to Brundusium. The funeral fleet entered the harbour slowly with signs of mourning displayed, amid the silence of the sailors and of the waiting crowd. But when Agrippina was seen in long mourning garments, her eyes bent down, descending from her vessel accompanied by two of her children, and carrying the sepulchral urn in her own hands, a great cry of grief broke forth from all the spectators. In all the cities of Calabria, Apulia, and Campania, and all along the road the same grief was displayed. Tiberius had sent two prætorian cohorts to Brundusium. Drusus, and the children of Germanicus who had been left at Rome, and Claudius his brother, went as far as Terracina to meet the funeral train.

The Children of Germanicus: Caligula, Drusilla, Agrippina, and Livilla.[1]

proves that it had all the splendour possible, if we remember that it was out of the question to make the ceremonies the same as in the case of Drusus under Augustus, since the two principal acts, the lying in state of the body and its cremation on the funeral pile, having been performed at Antioch, could not be renewed at Rome. In my judgment, Tiberius has, moreover, a very powerful advocate in that Antonia who is praised by Val. Maximus (iv. 3, 3), and by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 6) for the purity of her life and conduct; she was the mother of Germanicus, whose death so little affected her devotion to Tiberius that she saved the emperor from the conspiracy of Sejanus (*ibid.*, vi. 10), and that after the death of Tiberius she persuaded Caius to respect his grandfather's memory. This is not the conduct of a mother towards her son's murderer. Seneca, who was at Rome when Germanicus died, and must have learned all the details of the event through his friend Julia, the daughter of Agrippina, does not even allude to the crime (*Consol. ad Marc.*, 15, and *Quæst. nat.*, i. 1), and Suetonius (*Calig.* 1) is right when he says that Germanicus fell a victim to a lingering disorder; he adds only: "Not without suspicion of poison, and this suspicion was inevitable." Finally, among the recent works in regard to Tiberius, there are but few which sustain the old theory, so dear to scholars, of the poisoning of Germanicus.

[1] Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 218. The authenticity of this sardonyx has been disputed because of the name Caligula behind the head of Caius, which name is never found on his coins. "But," says M. Chabouillet, "cameos had not the official character of coins." (*Catalogue général*, p. 35.)

But his mother, the venerable Antonia, and the emperor remained in the palace; and it is easy to understand that the one may have wished to conceal her maternal grief, and that the other, a man sad and severe, may have remained at a distance from the noisy demonstrations of the crowd, busy in calculating the new perils which would arise from the loss of a faithful and useful lieutenant.

Antonia.[1]

Tiberius had caused statues and arches of triumph to be voted to Germanicus at Rome, upon Mount Amanus and on the banks of the Rhine, and honours that a century later were still paid to the memory of the young general. But the emperor's enemies strove to prolong the period of public mourning, a method of opposition at once safe and fascinating. Agrippina especially, and her friends, wounded Tiberius by vague accusations aimed higher than at Piso; and stones were thrown at the imperial statues. In the end the emperor, weary of these self-interested lamentations and all this clamour made to serve the secret ambitions of designing men, abruptly put an end to all further manifestations by an edict in which he recalled to the public mind that other eminent men had died for the State, and that Rome had lost armies and had supported these disasters with more firmness.

[1] From a bust in the Museum of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 8.

Grief for the death of Germanicus did honour both to the people of Rome and to himself, provided it were kept within due limits; for there were manifestations of weakness unbecoming in a great Empire and a sovereign people. . . . . "Princes die, but the State

Apotheosis of Germanicus.[1]

is immortal; wherefore, let the people return to their ordinary life, and even to their pleasures."

This last word was too much, although it was explained by the approach of the feast of Cybele, which it would be unbecoming to neglect.[2] These stern words restored the city to its wonted

[1] This cameo (about 4 in. square) is one of the treasures of the French Cabinet des Antiques. It is believed to have been brought from Constantinople in the eleventh century by Cardinal Humbert, who gave it to the monastery of Saint-Evre, near Toulouse. Germanicus, crowned by a victory and borne by an eagle, holds the *lituus* in one hand and a cornucopia in the other. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, p. 35 and No. 209.

[2] The Megalesia, feast of the goddess-mother, began on the 4th of April. The *justitium*,

habits; none the less, however, was the arrival of Piso expected with impatience. Expelled from his province by Germanicus, Piso had received with unbecoming joy the news of his death, and had immediately set out to return to Syria. But the Roman legates and senators who were scattered throughout the province at the time had conferred the supreme power upon one of their own number; Piso, however, did not recoil from a civil war. This error was his ruin; Tiberius could not pardon the man who disturbed the public tranquillity.[1] Piso, being defeated, was forcibly put on board a vessel destined for Italy; there his accusers awaited him. They wished that the emperor should be the sole judge in this case.[2] Had Tiberius feared some compromising revelation he would unquestionably have accepted the duty, but instead he assigned it to the senate, coldly asking from them impartiality and justice. He himself was present; and the accused man, says Tacitus, with terror beheld the emperor, without pity, without

Mars Ultor.[3]

or vacation of the tribunals, was proclaimed in advance, and this was doubtless the object of the edict.

[1] *Judices implacabiles erant: Cæsar ob bellum provinciæ illatum* (*Ann.* iii. 14).

[2] *Ann.*, iii. 10

[3] This statue, of Greek marble, represents a Roman of the first century in the character of Mars the Avenger rather than the god himself. (Museum of the Louvre. Cf. Fröhner, *Notice*, etc., No. 128.)

anger, impassive, inscrutable. It is the most faithful portrait of Tiberius that the historian has left us.[1]

Piso killed himself in his own house; near his dead body was found a letter of manly tone, in which he acknowledged only the crime of having returned in arms into his province. Tiberius recompensed the three friends of Germanicus who had borne the part of accusers, solicited for Nero, the eldest of his sons, permission to present himself as candidate for the quæstorship five years before the legal age, and married him to the daughter of Drusus (20). When the second of the sons of Germanicus assumed the *toga virilis* (23) he procured for him the same privilege; and, to confirm Drusus in his favourable attitude towards his nephews, the emperor praised him at much length in the senate for the paternal solicitude he had manifested towards his brother's children.[2] Certain senators wishing the emperor to consecrate an altar to Vengeance and a statue to Mars Ultor, he refused to do it. "Let us reserve monuments," he said, "for victories over foreign enemies, and hide our domestic misfortunes in grief and silence."

II.—Administration of Tiberius; Sejanus; Death of Drusus.

This long drama being ended, Tiberius returned to the cares of government. Complaint being made of the excessive severity of the Papian-Poppæan law, he appointed fifteen commissioners to mitigate its requisitions and to repress the avidity of informers.[3] The ædiles desired a sumptuary law: "Let men first correct themselves," he said, with the authority of good sense; "good morals are worth more than ineffectual laws."[4] And if he could not restore the habits of virtue, he at least chastised vice when it displayed itself with too much effrontery. "He re-established," says Suetonius (chap. xxxv.), "the old custom of causing an

[1] He appeared the same on receiving news of the Gallic insurrection (*Ann.*, iii. 44 and 47), and in the judgment of Libo: . . . . . *immoto vultu* . . . . . *libellos et auctores recitat* . . . . *ita moderans ne lenire neve asperare crimina videretur* (*Ann.*, ii. 29). Philo (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1034 d) says also of Tiberius: *οὐκ εὐλήπτος ὢν ὀργῇ*.

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 4.

[3] Tac., iii. 28. Montesquieu, *Esprit des lois*, xxiii. 21.

[4] *Ibid.*, iii. 55.

assembly of the relatives to pronounce by unanimous vote the sentence on women who had violated their marriage vows, and who had not been prosecuted by public accusers. He freed from his oath a Roman knight, who, having sworn never to repudiate his wife, was not able to send her away, although he had surprised her in adultery. Certain matrons, to relieve themselves from an inconvenient dignity and free themselves from the law, had caused their names to be inscribed on the list of courtesans; some young libertines of good family had caused themselves to be branded with infamy by the tribunals, so that afterwards they could appear upon the stage or in the arena; and all these persons Tiberius sent into exile." He required from the magistrates a respectable life. A quæstor having drawn lots for a wife, married her, and on the following day divorced her, the emperor deprived him of his office. A senator quitting Rome, by a contemptible trick, about the Calends of July, and returning when the quarter-day was passed, in order to obtain a house at cheaper rent, the emperor degraded him from his rank; and to another, who was squandering his property, he assigned a guardian.[1]

Finding his authority sufficiently extensive, he rejected, without hypocrisy or pretence of moderation, whatever additions were proposed. A senator wishing to extend the imperial prerogative to the selection of governors, he refused it.[2] The senate had the selection of the proconsul for Africa; but a soldier being needed in that province, disturbed by the incursions of Tacfarinas, the Conscript Fathers desired the emperor to make the appointment; he complained of this, and would do no more than designate two persons between whom the Curia should decide. Asia and Cyrene

[1] There were few modifications of the civil law under Tiberius. We have spoken elsewhere of the Junian-Norbanian law (19 A.D.), which was connected with the measures introduced by Augustus relative to the condition of the freedmen. A senatus-consultum of the year 20 introduced an amelioration for slaves. *"Si servus reus postulabitur, eadem observanda sunt quæ si liber esset"* (*Digest*, xlviii., fr. 12, § 3). Under the Republic the penalty was arbitrary and always heavier for the slave than for the free man. In the penal law of the emperors, the slave was always treated like the free man of low degree, *humilior*, because *"natura est communis."* (*Ibid.*, § 4.) Another senatus-consultum increased the civil penalties against bachelors, and the Libonian decree organized the theory of prohibitions against those who, even at the dictation of the testator, wrote in the will a legacy in their favour. (Cf. Cod., ix. 23.) Lastly, Tiberius deprived of the right of making a will those to whom fire and water had been interdicted. (Dion, lvii. 22.)

[2] *Ann.*, iii. 68.

accusing their governors of extortion, the latter were tried and condemned. The abuse of the right of asylum in temples had brought about endless disturbances, of which the least was the impunity of the guilty. An energetic measure might, perhaps, among the Oriental peoples, have caused outbreaks; Tiberius demanded a serious investigation, and remitted this important affair to the senate. "It was a glorious day," says Tacitus, "when the benefits of our forefathers, the treaties with the allies, the decrees of the kings whose authority had preceded that of Rome, and even the worship paid to the gods, were all submitted to the investigation of the senate, free as formerly to confirm or abolish." In the year 22 the emperor asked for his son Drusus the office of tribune; the senate added to it all the honours that flattery could invent; Tiberius declined them with a dignified moderation. The famous Junia, niece of Cato, wife of Cassius and sister of Brutus, died this same year, leaving legacies to all the great personages in Rome; Tiberius, whose name she had omitted from her will—a neglect insulting according to Roman usage—permitted her funeral, nevertheless, to be observed with solemn pomp, and the images of twenty noble families to be borne in the procession. Those of Brutus and Cassius are lacking, and Tacitus complains of this; he is right, if Tiberius required this posthumous exile; but it is hardly credible that the emperor could have feared these two dead men appearing in a funeral ceremony.

On the other side will perhaps be cited those accusations of treason, the phantom which haunts and troubles the minds of historians. Some there were, and they are these: Drusus falls ill; a poet who had been recompensed for his verses on the death of Germanicus composes others on that of the emperor's son. But the young prince recovers, and the foolish poet, instead of consigning his verses to oblivion, dares to read them publicly. These words concerning death are to Roman superstition a presage of evil; and, since they may bring misfortune, are a crime. The poet is accused, and the senate all in one day condemns and executes him. Tiberius, at the time absent from Rome, was full of displeasure, complained that the transaction was too hurried,[1] that

[1] Josephus says that no man was ever so slow as Tiberius in all things. Μελλητὴς εἰ καί

he should have pardoned the offender; and his reproaches were so much in earnest that a decree inspired by him ordered that henceforth there should be an interval of ten days between the sentence and its execution.[1] A knight was complained of for having made a silver statue of Tiberius serve for divers usages; but the emperor would not allow the complaint to be received. Capito basely objected to this indulgence on the part of Tiberius; but the latter persisted.[2] Repeatedly he had forbidden prosecutions on account of words used against the imperial family,[3] for as yet he did not at all encourage informers;[4] two of them, although belonging to the equestrian order, were punished for bringing a false accusation;[5] another denouncing the senator Lentulus, Tiberius rose and said that he should believe himself unworthy longer to live if Lentulus were his enemy.[6]

Anubis.[7]

His justice was stern and equal towards all, even the gods. A young knight had deceived a matron in the temple of Isis, passing himself off, by aid of the priests, for the god Anubis: Tiberius caused the temple to be destroyed, the statue of the goddess to be thrown into the Tiber, and the priests to be crucified.[8] During this year four Jews—robbers, according to the testimony of their fellow-countryman Josephus—had converted the wife of a noble Roman, and extorted

τις ἑτέρων βασιλέων ἢ τυράννων γενόμενος (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 5). These are the very words of Tacitus: "*Insita etiam in extraneos cunctatione et mora* (*Ann.*, iv. 11).

[1] *Ibid.*, iii. 50, and Dion, lvii. 20.

[2] *Ann.*, iii. 70. He was more severe in what concerned Augustus; to dress oneself in the presence of the latter's statue or to break it became a crime. But the informers did not long accept the reservations he had imposed upon himself.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 22, and elsewhere.

[4] The Roman law unfortunately admitted confiscation, and accorded a share to the informers; in accusations of treason, a fourth according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 20), an eighth according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xix. 16): τὰς ὀγδόας τῶν οὐσιῶν. Hence this class of persons swarmed in Rome. Tacitus says of Tiberius (*Ann.*, iii. 56): *ingruentes accusatores represserat.* Suetonius (*Tib.*, 28) and Dion (lvii. 9) affirm that, in the first half of his reign, he did not make an unjust use of sentences of treason. During this period we have no instance of any man being punished solely for an offence against the person of the ruler.

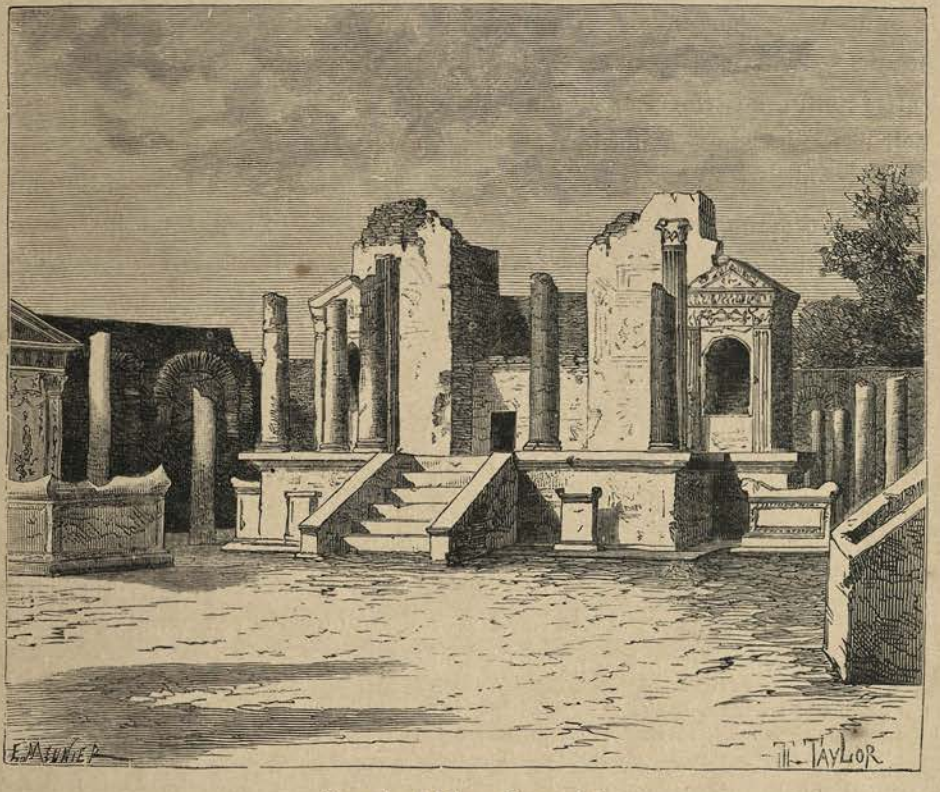
[5] *Ann.*, iii. 37.

[6] This was in the year 24 (Dion, lvii. 24). In 21, a woman who believed herself at liberty to insult any one, because she always wore an image of the emperor, was sent by Drusus to prison. (Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 36.)

[7] Museum of the Louvre.

[8] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3, 4, and 5.

from her much purple and gold, under pretext of gifts to the temple of Jerusalem. The husband denounced them to Tiberius, and the emperor, not much concerned about dogmas and seeing only public order scandalously violated, forbade the practice of foreign cults at Rome. "Four thousand Jews, freedmen and of military age, were enrolled and sent into Sardinia against the



Temple of Isis at Pompeii.[1]

brigands of that island. For the rest was fixed a date on which to quit Italy or to abandon their profane rites."[2] This was severe, many innocent persons suffering along with the few guilty; but religious toleration was not a virtue of those days. Moreover, the Jews, not having Roman citizenship, were legally at the discretion of the government; and even to this day, modern governments are at liberty to expel foreigners from their territory.

[1] From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 85, and Josephus, *ibid.* Seneca says (*Ep. ad Luc.*, 108): Under Tiberius *alienigenarum sacra morebantur.*

The old Latin rites were not more respected by Tiberius. He did not like to have men addressing indiscreet questions to the gods, and the oracles were objects of suspicion to him, and with reason, for they were no longer an instrument of government, and might even be employed by the opposition. He strove to destroy their credit, forbade that the auspices should be consulted except in the presence of witnesses, and he himself wished to examine the famous *Sortes* of Præneste, to which some of their old authority was still attached. He had the coffer sealed in which were contained the slips of wood, drawn by a child at random, each slip bearing a letter, and the re-union of these letters into words forming the response given to the question proposed. This coffer was brought to the emperor; when he opened it the *Sortes* had disappeared, but on being returned to Præneste they were again in their place.[1] "Alarmed," says his credulous biographer, "the emperor ceased to question the power of the Prænestine *Sortes*." Tiberius was not the man to be alarmed by such a thing; he had made an attack upon those who were more adroit than himself, and for once had been outwitted.

Tiberius seemed at that time an administrator of justice, severe but impartial, inexorable for judges as well as for the accused, and combating with all his efforts that old evil of the Roman world, the venality of the tribunals. "He would come," says Suetonius, "and offer himself to advise the magistrates, seating himself beside them on the bench. Or sometimes, if he learned that partiality was about to save a criminal, he would suddenly appear and remind the judges of their oath, and of the laws, and the crime that they had to punish." Tacitus supports with his testimony these words of the biographer of the Cæsars; he shows the emperor repressing the intrigues and solicitations of the nobles,[2] and he adds: "So justice was saved, but liberty was lost." But what a liberty! the liberty to suborn justice or to sell it! And still we are tempted to agree with him, for the ruler to-day interposing in behalf of the law, may to-morrow

[1] Suet., *Tib.*, 63. Dion (lvi. 25) attributes to Augustus the prohibition against consulting the soothsayers except in the presence of witnesses. It was a political measure, and may have belonged to both emperors.

[2] *Adversus ambitum et potentium preces* (*Ann.*, i. 75); cf., Suet., *Tib.*, 33; Dion, lvii. 7; Vell. Paterculus, ii. 129.

interpose against it. But Tiberius was perpetual tribune, and as such was obliged to receive appeals, and had the right of arresting by his veto the execution of sentences and even the results of suits; and, finally, antiquity having no knowledge of what we call the division of powers, the Romans were no more offended by the presence of the ruler in a court of justice than were our feudal ancestors to see the king decide on cases, even at the foot of an oak.[1]

Economical with the public money, as well as of his own,[2] he diminished expenses, increased receipts, and by his punctuality in the payment of the army, and by his largesses to the people in cases of need, he prevented all seditious movements.[3] The miser even sometimes became generous, but his generosity needed a motive of public interest. Verrucosus entreats Tiberius to pay his debts, and the latter consents on condition that Verrucosus give him the list of his creditors. Others make the same request, and the emperor exacts from them that they render an account of the condition of their affairs to the senate, and he then pays their debts. Seneca complains of this; "it is no longer a benefit," he says.[4] But ought the public treasury to grant relief on any other terms? If Tiberius consented to aid the senator in order to save the honour of the senate, he wished to chastise the prodigal by public disgrace, and he was right. In the year 27 fire overran the whole of the Cælian hill; the emperor compensated all the losers; every one was astonished, for those who suffered by the fire were nearly all of them men of low class.[5] Tiberius had not concerned himself about their station. Disdaining popularity as he disdained honours, he had succoured the unfortunate probably without any feeling of pity for them, but simply, as he did other things, from a spirit of government. The law gave him the property of condemned persons, but he frequently restored it

[1] To give judgments was, in fact, one of the most important of the imperial functions. Suetonius says of Augustus (*Octav.*, 33): *Jus dixit assidue et in noctem nonnunquam.*

[2] Ἐλάχιστα ἐς αὐτὸν δαπανῶν (Dion, lvii. 10).

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 75. Under Tiberius the importations of corn were greater than under Augustus. (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 13.)

[4] *De Benef.*, ii. 7. 8. See, for his aid to private individuals, Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 37, 86; Suet., *Tib.*, 47; Dion, lvii. 10.

[5] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 64. Tiberius had already in the year 16 furnished assistance in a parallel case. (Dion, lvii. 16.) Later, he gave on a similar occasion a hundred million sesterces.

to their heirs, nor would he accept the legacies frequently made him, to the detriment of their children, by persons who were in no way connected with himself.[1]

In the provinces he maintained a wise administration by his skilful selection of officials, by his perseverance in retaining in their positions those who had been found faithful, and by his severity against evil-doers. Many of the provinces had still the same governors whom he had appointed upon his accession;[2] and not a single one of those who were accused of extortion was known to have escaped;[3] he even went so far as to hold them responsible for the offences of which their wives were guilty, acting in their names.[4]

There were, however, troubles in Thrace, acts of brigandage rather than of war,[5] between the different tribes, and it did not cost the Romans a man to bring all back to order again. In Gaul there was a beginning of revolt. Florus, one of the Treviri, essayed to stir up the Belgæ, and Sacrovir, the Æduan, agitated the Gauls of Celtica. The pretext was the burden of tributes, the severity of the governors and of the creditors, reasons difficult to reconcile with the picture at the same time drawn by them, to kindle men's courage, of the prosperity of Gaul and the destitution of Italy. But they knew not how to concert their action. A premature movement of the Andecavi and the Turones was repressed by a single cohort. Florus, penned up in the Ardennes and tracked by one of his own countrymen, who pursued him into the depths of these forests, destroyed himself. Sacrovir caused more alarm; he induced the Æduans and Sequani to

[1] Tac., Ann., ii. 48; Dion, lvii. 17. Tacitus even extols his disinterestedness, *satis firmus, ut sæpe memoravi, adversus pecuniam* (*Ann.*, iii. 18), and Dion adds (lvii. 10): "He put no man to death in order to obtain his property . . . . and never amassed money by unjust conduct."

[2] Like Gratus, who remained eleven years in Judæa. (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 3.) *Id morum Tiberii fuit continuare imperia ac plerosque ad finem vitæ in iisdem exercitibus aut jurisdictionibus habere* (Tac., *Ann.*, i. 80).

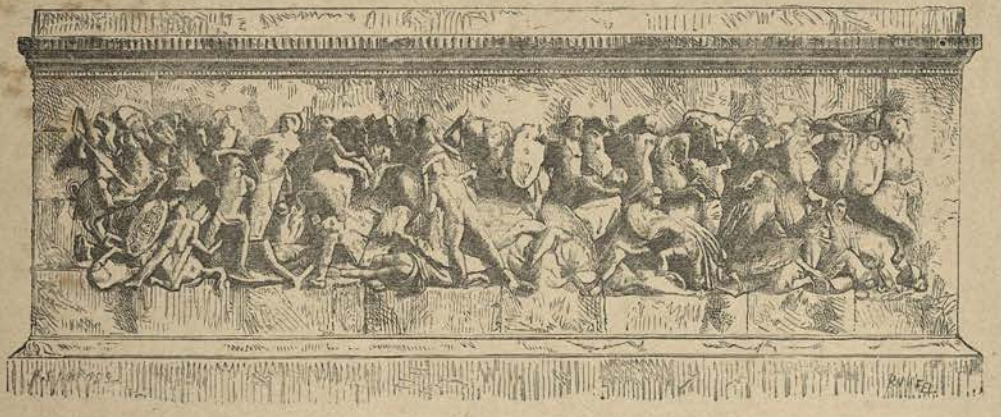
[3] In the year 22, Silanus, governor of Asia, and Cordus, governor of the Cyrenaica, were condemned. (*Ann.*, iii. 68, 70.) Marcellus, governor of Bithynia, certainly did not escape. (*Ibid.*, i. 74.) Tacitus is angry at this, *non enim Tiberius, non accusatores fatiscebant* (*Ann.*, iii. 38.) Upon all these prosecutions, see Tac., *Ann.*, i. 74; iii. 38, 66, 70; iv. 15, 18, 19, 31, 36; vi. 29. We may also notice that complaints always came from the senatorial, not the imperial provinces. With the exception of one procurator, all the accused governors named by Tacitus were of the senatorial order.

[4] *Ibid.*, iv. 20.

[5] *Ibid.*, *Ann.*, iii. 40.

follow him, took Autun, and gathered 40,000 men, of whom, it is true, not more than a fifth part were armed. Two of the legions of the Rhine suddenly fell upon the province; for a half century the Gauls had so completely unlearnt the art of war that there was not even a battle, but a massacre. Sacrovir and his friends, who had taken refuge in a villa, killed one another after having set fire to the building (21 A.D.).[1] The arch at Orange commemorated this easy victory.

At Rome there was a moment of alarm and much clamour. Tiberius alone did not suspend his labours; he did not even



Combat between the Gauls of Sacrovir and the Romans.[2]

deign to speak of this war until after it was ended. Then he announced to the senate the revolt and also the suppression of it, taking nothing from the truth, adding to it nothing. The measures that he had taken, he said, and the fidelity and courage of his lieutenants had been sufficient for everything. He then explained why neither he nor Drusus had gone into Gaul. He alleged the great extent of the Empire, which did not suffer its rulers to quit, for some disturbances in a city or two, the capital whence they kept watch over the entire state. A senator proposed that Tiberius should return from Campania into Rome with an ovation, but the emperor rejoined: "My life has not been so void of honour that I have need of this trifling distinction. In my

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 43.

[2] Bas-relief from the arch at Orange. See paper by M. de Saulcy in the *Journal des Savants* for 1880, on this arch, commemorating the Roman victory.

youth I have conquered warlike nations enough, and have obtained or disdained triumphs enough to disdain this promenade along the road to Rome." On which side were good sense, dignity, and political wisdom?

Tacitus narrates the Gallic insurrection, without telling of the repression which followed it or of the measures taken to prevent its

The Triumphal Arch at Orange.

return. The executions were certainly numerous; the Druids in particular suffered. Augustus had Latinized their gods, and suppressed their privileges and their assemblies. To prevent them from speaking in the name of heaven to minds easily excited by such appeals, Tiberius prohibited their bloody ceremonies. The practice of the rites peculiar to Druidism was identified with the crime of magic, which, for a provincial, implied the penalty of death.[1] This was the penalty decreed by the Twelve Tables against

[1] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxx. 4, 3. *Digest*, xlviii. 8, 13: *Ex. sc. ejus legis* (Cornelia de Sicariis)

enchanters, and later had been applied by the senate during the Republic to the abettors of the Bacchanals.[1] There had been no general persecution because there had been no search, *inquisitio*, ordered against those who practised the old cult, and if a certain number of Druids, instigators of the late revolt or proven despisers of the new law, perished, many were able to escape by silence or by the obscurity of their lives. Thus are explained the contradictory passages in authors who date the abolition of the old Gallic religion from the reigns of Tiberius and Claudius, and in those who show the Druids still existing in Gaul two or three centuries later. The gods die before their altars fall, and remains of the druidic faith have passed through Roman polytheism, as so many pagan rites have survived paganism. Religions which pass away always leave behind them the lasting traces of their passage.

We must now direct our attention to another part of the world. Tacfarinas had reappeared in Africa, and had besieged in a fort a Roman cohort which, by an imprudent sortie, had given the place up to him. Encouraged by this success he ventured to attack the city of Thala. But the proconsul had decimated the cohort which had suffered itself to be defeated, and had so well re-established discipline by that severity that five hundred veterans repulsed in an encounter the entire forces of the enemy. Upon this, Tacfarinas changed his tactics; he gave up the plan of sieges, divided his army into small bands, attacked and fell back as soon as he was pressed, only to reappear elsewhere, mocking at the Romans and their vain pursuit. He arrived at such audacity that he sent deputies to Tiberius, and treating with him as one power with another, made known to the emperor that the latter must yield him a position or else expect an interminable war. The emperor replied by sending into Africa a skilful general, Blæsus, the uncle of Sejanus, who combated the ubiquitous Numidian by a scheme of tactics resembling his own. He divided his forces into small, light bands, putting at their head centurions of tried valour with good guides, built small forts to support their

pœna damnari jubetur, qui mala sacrificia fecerit, habuerit. Tiberius caused this law to be enforced throughout the Empire against human sacrifices. See, on this point, pp. 28–9.

[1] See vol. ii. pp. 246 *sqq.*

movements, as the French army erected blockhouses against the Arabs, and kept his troops in the field even during the winter. Tacfarinas escaped, but his brother was made prisoner, and tranquillity appeared to be re-established. Tiberius sent to Blæsus the insignia of the triumph, and allowed his soldiers to proclaim him *imperator*. This was the last time a general received that title.

Coin of Ptolemy. (*Cab. de France.*)

Ptolemy, the king of Mauretania, had faithfully served Rome during this war. The matter being fully reported to the senate, there was renewed in his favour a custom

Porta Aurea at Ravenna.[1]

of ancient times: a senator brought to him the ivory sceptre and embroidered robe, and in the name of the emperor and the senate saluted him with the title of king and friend of the Roman people.

Tiberius had now been in power nine years, and his administration had been advantageous to the State. Let us hear Tacitus: "The following is the statement presented by the emperor to the senate of the forces of the Empire and the provinces where the legions were: Italy had a fleet upon each of the two seas, one

[1] From an engraving in the National Library (Paris).

at Misenum, the other at Ravenna, not to mention the galleys at Forum Julii protecting the coast of Narbonensis. Eight legions on the Rhine restrained at once the Germans and the Gauls; Spain was guarded by three legions; Mauretania by king Juba. In the rest of Africa, two legions, as many more in Egypt, and four only in that vast country extending west of the Euphrates to those kingdoms of the Albanians and Iberians which our power protects against neighbouring empires. Rhemetalces and the children of Cotys governed Thrace; two legions in Pannonia and the same number in Mœsia defended the passage of the Danube; and two others in Dalmatia supported the former or hastened to the defence of Italy, as the case might require. Rome had its special troops, three urban cohorts and nine prætorian cohorts, all levied in Etruria, Umbria, Latium, or the early Roman colonies. The fleets, and the auxiliary infantry and cavalry, which formed a nearly equal force, were distributed as they might be needed in the provinces; but there was nothing certain either in respect to their destination or their number, which varied incessantly.

Coin of Juba II.[1]

"In the government, public affairs and the more serious concerns of private individuals were treated in the senate; in discussions the customary order was observed. If the orators fell into adulation, Tiberius stopped them at once. In distributing honours, he had regard to birth, military services, and civil talent, so that no selections could have been better made. The consulship and the prætorship had their external distinction, and the inferior magistracies all their former rights. In respect to the laws, that concerning treason alone excepted, good use was made of them; the supplies of the armies, the taxes, and the other public revenues were farmed out to Roman knights. For the management of his private affairs, the prince made choice of the most esteemed men, some personally unknown to him and merely upon their reputation. Once chosen, he changed them with reluctance, and most of them grew old in their offices. The people suffered

[1] On the obverse, the king's head; on the reverse, Africa, the head covered with the usual symbol, an elephant's head.

often from the high price of grain, but this was not the fault of Tiberius; he spared neither care nor expense to guard against bad harvests and those accidents of the sea which placed, as he himself said, the life of the Roman people at the mercy of the winds and waves. He took care that the provinces should not be burdened with any new taxes, and that the original ones should not be made heavier by the avarice or cruelty of the governors. He forbade corporal punishments and confiscations.[1]

"The emperor's domains in Italy were not extensive, his slaves not insolent, and his freedmen few in number. If he had a dispute with private individuals the tribunals and the laws decided the case. It is true that his manners were not amiable, that he was unsocial and usually inspired fear; but until the death of Drusus he was able to control himself; after that all was changed."

This revolution, taking place at a fixed moment in the life and habits of Tiberius, is suspicious. For a young man it would be hardly credible, but it becomes incomprehensible in the case of a man of sixty-five, for nine years master of the supreme power, hence free for the past nine years to abandon himself without restraint to his passions. "Up to the age of fifty-six," says Tacitus,[2] "his life and fame were irreproachable; from fifty-six to sixty-five he feigned virtue; from sixty-five to seventy-one his conduct was composed of well and ill; from seventy-one to seventy-three he exhibited a cruelty indescribable, but concealed his debaucheries; from seventy-three to seventy-eight there was an overflowing of crimes and infamies, because he could at last abandon himself to his true character." These divisions are ridiculous. A nature so strongly tempered as that of Tiberius is not subject in mature age to these periodical metamorphoses. If we are shown that the situation has changed, that dangers are increasing, we shall then understand how fears, suspicions, and cruelty spring up and grow. We shall then have the regular

[1] *Ann.*, vi. 5–7. Elsewhere, in a few expressive words, Tiberius compares this prosperity with the evils of past times: *Multa duritiæ veterum melius et lætius mutata; neque enim ut olim obsideri urbem bellis aut provincias hostiles esse.* Cf. Philo, *Leg. ad C.*, 993 b.; Strabo, vi. 288: "Never before had the Romans and their allies known such a wealth of good things." Vell. Paterc., ii. 126: *Vindicatæ ab injuriis magistratuum provinciæ*, and Dion, lvii. 23. In the discourse at Lyons, Claudius says (col. 11, 4) that Tiberius had called many provincials into the senate.

[2] *Ann.*, vi. 51.

development of a situation bad from the beginning, and of a character inclined to extreme severity, and not a series of spectacular changes such as are only seen upon the stage.

Like Louis XI., and like all rulers placed in the presence of a powerful aristocracy, Tiberius took pleasure in governing by means of men of low station.[1] He cannot always refuse office to the nobles, but, having satisfied their vanity, he often retained them in Rome, sending lieutenants to administer their provinces.[2] The only favourite that he ever had was a mere knight, Ælius Sejanus, born in the Etruscan city of Vulsinii, whose father, near the close of the reign of Augustus, had commanded the prætorian guard. Associated with his father by Tiberius in the year 14, he remained sole prætorian præfect when his father obtained the government of Egypt, and he gained the emperor's affection by his absolute devotion, his indefatigable activity, and his wise counsels.[4] Tiberius could have no doubt of the fidelity of the man who, when all fled, alone remained and saved the emperor's life by supporting a roof which was falling upon his head;[5] accordingly, he bestowed upon him the utmost confidence; in the senate and before the people he called Sejanus the companion of his labours, he consulted him as to the distribution of honours and provinces, and he permitted in the theatre, the Forum, and the camps, that the statues of his minister should be placed beside his own.

Gold Coin of Vulsinii (Bolsena).[3]

In the Roman world Sejanus represents those viziers of the East who employ years in surrounding their master with invisible bonds which one day they suddenly tighten. Having attained so high a place, he wished to rise still higher, and seeing the noblest

[1] One day when the emperor had preferred as candidate for the prætorship one Curtius Rufus, who was believed to be the son of a gladiator, to the most noble personages in Rome, he made answer to those who were surprised at the unsuitable choice: Rufus is the son of his own deeds: *Curtius Rufus videtur mihi ex se natus* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 21). As a matter of course Tacitus is much displeased, he is ashamed to relate it: *vera exsequi pudet.*

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 80 and vi. 27.

[3] Coins of the British Museum and of the Museum of Gotha, published by the *Revue archéol.*, 1879, pl. xvi.

[4] *Corpus illi laborum tolerans* (*Ann.*, iv. 1). *Bonis consiliis notescere volebat* (*ibid.*, 7).

[5] This happened in the year 26 (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 59).

and proudest become his clients,[1] he believed that between him and the imperial throne there was only this old man and his children. Doubtless no man loved them, but for the greater number they were the standard of peace and order around which the Empire had rallied; and this standard beaten down, immediately would reappear anarchy, murder, and civil war. The dread of these evils made the legitimacy of the Cæsars, and long protected such monsters as Caligula, Nero, and Commodus. Nor was it easy to surprise the suspicious old man, who saw clearly in the night, says Suetonius, and whose look pierced even more acutely the darkness of an intrigue. Sejanus, therefore, was playing a game of intrigue with him.

The minister had command of the prætorian guards. The nine cohorts, dispersed through the city and suburbs, and even in the adjacent villages, were losing their discipline; he gathered them into a fortified camp between the two roads which led away from the Viminal and Colline gates;[2] and he showed this camp to Tiberius as the fortress whence the prince could hold the senate and the great city under the fear of a military execution. But this union of 10,000 picked soldiers in one place might also serve ambitious designs; Sejanus often went to visit the prætorians; he knew the men by their names; he chose their centurions and tribunes; and they were rather his body-guard than that of the exile of Capri.

His first victim was the emperor's own son. Drusus, in a quarrel, had struck Sejanus in the face; the latter could not take open revenge, but he corrupted the wife of Drusus—a woman already depraved and guilty—by feigning a violent passion for her, and holding her by vice and crime, persuaded her to poison her husband. The blow was very great for Tiberius; for some time he forbade all whom his son had loved to appear in his presence, as the sight of them renewed his grief.[3] He came, however, into the senate, there to seek, he said, among the supports of the State, the consolations which courage could furnish. And he

[1] Tiberius writes to him (*Ann.*, iv. 40): *Magistratus et primores, qui te invito perrumpunt omnibusque de rebus consulunt.* . . . .

[2] The remains of this camp are seen near the Nomentan gate (Aurelian's wall). It is now the *Campo militare*. Later there was a second camp at Albano. Cf. Henzen, *la Legione Ia Parthica*.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 3. Dion (lvii. 11) gives a sad portrait of Drusus.

showed them his mother tottering under the burden of years, his grandchildren still under age, and himself in the decline of life. The children of Germanicus were now his sole hope. He then requested that they should be brought to him. The two consuls led them into the senate house, and Tiberius, taking them by the hand, says: "Behold, Conscript Fathers, these orphans whom, after their father's death, I intrusted to their uncle, conjuring him, although he had already children of his own, to bring these up as if they were his own and render them worthy of him and of posterity. Drusus is dead, and I now address to you my prayers; it is you that I beg, in the presence of the gods and of the Roman people, to watch over these grandchildren of Augustus, these scions of the noblest families. And you, Nero and Drusus, regard them as your fathers, remembering that, by reason of your birth, your vices as well as your virtues are matters which concern the State."

It is a noble scene, and a touching picture: the old emperor, in his turn broken by domestic afflictions, having only these young orphans to whom he can turn—these lads, upon whom rests the peace of the world—and this weeping assembly, gathering around the young princes whom their grandfather thus intrusts to the State![1] Why should this confidence and these noble words, which at the moment were sincere, be soon so cruelly falsified? In these senators, now animated by a common and pious emotion, how many victims and murderers we behold! These boys will perish by the same hand that now caresses them, and this old man, who until now has only been severe and just, will become an object of terror.

Tiberius threw himself into affairs, to seek amid the cares of government[2] the sole consolation which his active mind, severe towards himself as towards others, could find. He repressed a revolt of slaves, expelled from Italy the play-actors, "whose licentious and obscene farces," he said, "the Conscript Fathers ought to punish," and in all things exhibited an inflexible spirit of justice. The senate having proposed merely to banish from

[1] Nero was then sixteen, Drusus fifteen, and Caius nine; their uncle, the neglected Claudius, was thirty-two.

[2] *At Tiberius, nihil intermissa rerum cura, negotia pro solatiis accipiens, jus civium, preces sociorum tractabat* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 13).

Italy a former quæstor convicted of receiving bribes, Tiberius insisted upon the sentence being one of exile. Another senator, a *protégé* of Livia, had thrown his wife from the roof of his house and asserted that she had committed suicide. The senate hesitated; the emperor went to the scene of the tragedy, examined the place carefully, and detected traces of a violent struggle, upon which the guilty man opened his veins. One of the imperial procurators in Asia was prosecuted for excesses in the exercise of power, and the emperor abandoned him to the senate.[1] This assembly still treated of all public matters. In order to augment its dignity, the emperor consented that the cities of Asia, in gratitude for the justice they had recently, in two instances, received from Rome, should, in a temple dedicated to himself, associate the divinity of the senate with his own and that of his mother. Thus we find ourselves on the eve of realizing our wishes for the increase of the authority of the senate. Tiberius grants it far more than did Augustus, and this body, at once electoral, legislative, and judicial,[2] becomes almost the supreme council of the Empire. Let the senators do the rest; let their conduct rise to the height of the part assigned them; let the emperor find in them devotion without servility, intelligence without ambition; let them defend him equally against the courtiers who would blind him and against the factions eager for new disturbances, and the difficult problem of a limited monarchy will be half solved.

Tiberius had until now retained the council of Augustus: twenty of the chief men of the Empire and certain of his old

[1] *Apud quos* (*patres*) *etiamtum cuncta tractabantur* (*Ann.* iv. 15), but without publicity. Dion, lvii. 21 and 23. Cf. Le Clerc, *des Journaux chez les Romains.*

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 6; Suet., *Tib.*, 30. In the matter of judicial authority, Tiberius allowed the senate to encroach upon the other jurisdictions and multiply the cases reserved for itself, that is to say, those of high treason, of extortion, of poisoning, of resistance to the laws, of theft, of divorce, of incest, of attempt at corruption, etc. Cf. Tac. *Ann.*, iii. 50, 85; iii. 10, 12, 19; iv. 31, 43; vi. 49. The *quæstiones perpetuæ*, which heretofore had cognizance of most of these crimes, judging without appeal, could not be acceptable to the new government. "There was no affair, great or small," says Suetonius (36), "public or private, which he did not lay before the senate. He consulted them on the establishment of taxes and the granting of monopolies, on the construction and reparation of public buildings, on levying troops and disbanding them, on the quartering of the legions in the provinces, on the extension of commands, the conduct of wars, and the replies to be made to kings. He obliged a cavalry officer accused of violence and rapine to defend himself before that assembly." But a word from the emperor could annul all this power; a letter of his to the senate was regarded as an order. (Tac. *Ann.*, iii. 19.)

friends,[1] to whom he added, when it was a question of replying to deputations, those who had commanded in the countries whose interests were under discussion.[2] One of his most important cares was always to listen to the complaints of the provinces,[3] to decide quarrels between cities,[4] to succour towns which had been smitten by some disaster,[5] or punish those which disturbed the public peace.[6] Again, in the year 23, he caused a proconsul of Ulterior Spain to be condemned for the harshness of his government, and, in the following year, the conqueror of Sacrovir, for his acts of pillage and his wife's extortions.

Among the requests which came to Rome in these days was one from Marseilles. An exiled Roman, who had become a citizen of Marseilles, left the city his property upon his death, as Rutilius had done in the case of Smyrna. "The example of Rutilius was the precedent," says Tacitus, and the gift was allowed. This was contrary to the ancient law; jurisprudence later seized upon this exception to draw from it a general rule which had the happiest results.[7]

Favoured by peace, the Western people now advanced with rapid strides towards a complete transformation. Tiberius, more faithful to the early example of Augustus than to his later advice, had multiplied concessions of citizenship, in order to favour the development of a Roman life in the provinces. Sacrovir had found in the schools of Autun youths of all the eminent Gallic families. The Senecas had already come from Cordova to Rome; and Strabo, after having travelled over nearly the entire Empire, was writing in Rome at this very hour his magnificent work, where undoubted testimony establishes the prosperity of all the provinces.[8]

Some successes in Thrace against the mountaineers of the Hæmus, who resisted a levy, and in Africa against Tacfarinas,

[1] *Veteres amicos ac familiares* (Suet., *Tib.*, 55).

[2] Μάλιστα τοὺς ἀρξαντάς ποτε αὐτῶν (Dion, lvii. 17).

[3] *Preces sociorum* (*Ann.*, iv. 13).

[4] Between Lacedæmon and Messene, for instance, after the useless arbitration of Miletus. (*Ibid.*, 43.)

[5] Like Cibyra and Ægium, exempted from tribute for three years. (*Ibid.*, 13.)

[6] Like Cyzicus, deprived of liberty in 25, for violence towards citizens. (*Ibid.*, 36.)

[7] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 43. Suetonius (*Tib.*, 31) speaks also of a legacy left to the city of Trebia. See in chapter lxxix., the reforms of Nerva and Hadrian on this subject, and in chapter lxxxiii. numerous examples of donations to cities.

[8] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 43. In thirty-four years, from 14 to 48 A.D., the number of citizens almost doubled. See, on this subject, the reign of Claudius.

who, surprised on a night march, had finally perished with all his forces (24 A.D.), still further did honour to this wise government, whose chief no more allowed himself to be dazzled by victories than by flatteries.

Genius of a City, found at Autun in 1846.[1]

Spain asked an authorization to build him a temple as Asia had done, but he refused. "I know too well," he said to the senate, "that I am but a man, subject to all the conditions of humanity. It is enough for me if I fulfil aright the duties of your ruler, and posterity will grant much to my memory if it recognize that I have been worthy of my ancestors, prudent in the conduct of your affairs, firm in the presence of danger, and unmoved by hatred whenever the public good has been in question.[2] I make but one prayer to the allies, to the citizens of Rome, and to the gods: from the latter I beg, until my latest hour, a tranquil mind and a clear understanding of human and divine laws;[3] from the

[1] Statuette of bronze in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,053.

[2] An inscription in the temple of Concord (*Regio*, viii.) is thus conceived: *Lusitaniæ design. pro salute Ti. Cæsaris Augusti optimi ac justissimi principis*, etc. (Orelli, 25). *Optimus* is too much, but for the provincials the second epithet is truthful.

[3] These are almost the wishes as those uttered by Juvenal (*Sat.*, x. 356):

Orandum est ut sit mens sana in corpore sano.
Fortem posce animum, mortis terrore carentem.

Sellier pinx^t.

Imp. Fraillery.

Dambourgez, chromolith.

BELLEROPHON KILLING THE CHIMERA

Mosaic from Autun

former, when I shall be no more, some few eulogies and a friendly remembrance of my acts and of my name." [1]

Posterity has not at all fulfilled this hope. Whose is the fault? Doubtless it is the fault of Tiberius, who did not preserve that just and equal mind which he asked of the gods; but also it is the fault of the senators, of Sejanus, of Agrippina even, of all those who by their baseness, their treason, or their violence, drew him on to reign in Rome by terror only. Tyrants do not make themselves without the complicity of others; and we may well hold responsible for tyranny those who call it forth and who render it possible.

[1] *Ann.*, iv. 37–8. I am obliged again to point to the very strange reflections which Tacitus places after these words. I have no wish to take aught from the eulogies of Velleius Paterculus: they have been regarded as questionable, although, saving the affectation and the divine epithets, which were only the polite forms of expression of that time, like the "highness." "excellency," and "grace" of our day, they are very nearly true; for the author, involved, it is probable, in the downfall of Sejanus, has not, in his narrative, gone beyond the year 30. I merely call attention to these two expressions: *Suspicit potentem humilis, non timet; antecedit, non contemnit humiliorem potens*, that is to say, the aristocracy has no longer the right to be what Tacitus reproaches it with having been before the Empire (*Ann.*, i. 1), either oppressive or insolent; and: *pax Augusta per omnis terrarum orbis angulos a latrociniorem metu servat immunes* (ii. 126).

[2] Fine cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 211; sardonyx of three layers, about two and a half by two inches.

Tiberius in old age, crowned with oak leaves and wearing the ægis.[2]

CHAPTER LXXIII.

ISOLATION, DANGERS, AND CRUELTY OF TIBERIUS.

I.—The Law of Treason and the Informers.

THERE were in Rome ancient legal provisions against those who, by treason or incapacity, imperilled the fortune or honour of the State, or who did violence to the constitution or to its organs, the magistrates. The *crimen perduellionis*, or attempt against the Roman people, was very vague, and, therefore, very comprehensive. Moreover, even in ancient times, not only acts, but also writings and words were punishable. Thus Claudia, during the First Punic War, was condemned for the expression of imprudent wishes, and the Twelve Tables decreed death against the authors of libels. The laws against treason, properly so called, were of popular origin: the demagogue Apuleius caused the first to be passed a hundred years before Christ, and the tribune Varius proposed the second a few years later. Both Sylla and Cæsar took it up again, to define the cases more exactly. They were numerous, and even the unsuccessful attempt incurred the application of the penalty, which was the interdiction of fire and water, that is to say, exile, with confiscation of property and loss of citizenship.[1] This law now protected the ruler, representative of the people, heir of the people's tribunes, and, under this title, already sheltered by the constitutional inviolability of the "sacrosanct" magistracy. "Whoever by deed or word did harm to a

[1] Cicero gives a clear idea of it in his *de Inventione*, ii. 17: *Majestatem minuere est de dignitate, aut amplitudine, aut potestate populi, aut eorum quibus populus potestatem dedit, aliquid derogare.* See in the *Sententiæ* of Paulus, v. 29, and in the *Digest*, xlviii. 4, how the jurisconsults of the Empire developed the *lex Julia majestatis.* The confiscation that it pronounced was the result of exile; the condemned man being no longer able to sacrifice before his hearth to his domestic gods, nor at the family tomb to the manes of his ancestors, the Roman people inherited from him as common heir. The religious idea had prepared the way for the fiscal idea.

tribune,[1] was devoted to the gods, his head to Jupiter, his property to Ceres."

Cæsar made no use of the law which he had set forth; Augustus used it very sparingly. However, fines and exile were decreed in his time against improper language spoken or written;[2] and the Romans have always taken pleasure in satire: Pasquino and Marforio are old inhabitants of Rome. The inveterate habit of exaggerated speech created many culprits; needy rapacity, and oratorical vanity overwrought in the schools and prohibited in the Forum, made many accusers. A successful accusation brought profit and honour; the law, in the first place, granted to him who had avenged it a share in the property of the condemned man;[3] and frequently the senate added to it a large reward, the ruler bestowed honours, and the whole city its applause. The future opened prosperously to the fortunate prosecutor; all things were offered him, fortune and dignities. Thus, as men's servility and as their desires increased, cases which rendered men guilty multiplied; the law punished not words only but a gesture, an involuntary forgetfulness, an indiscreet curiosity: to consult an astrologer on the duration of the ruler's life implied criminal hopes. Even the statue of the emperor participated in the same inviolability: woe to him who sells it with the field in which it stands, who throws a stone at it, who takes away its head, or melts the mutilated and worthless bronze![4]

If we consider these accusations ridiculous, we shall do well to remember what for so many years constituted high treason in England, and how dear it cost men in Scotland and Ireland to drink to the health of the Stuarts. Every age has constituted, now in the name of the State or the prince, now in the name of religion, certain crimes which later ages have not been able to understand. United with the government of the State, justice

[1] The expression used by Livy is very general: *si quis . . . . tribunis nocuisset.*

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, i. 72; Suet., *Octav.*, 51; Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 27. The Julian law reckoned among the *crimina majestatis* the insertion in public acts or the official declaration of a known falsehood: *Quive sciens falsum conscripserit vel recitaverit in tabulis publicis* (Ulpian, in the *Digest*, xlviii. 4, 2). In recent times the French law punished outrages against the head of the State and the propagation of false news.

[3] The fourth, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 20); the eighth, according to Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1); sometimes the prince relinquished the whole (*Ann.*, ii. 32).

[4] Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 26.

often becomes injustice, smiting as guilty those whom reason absolves, and the pressure of reigning ideas is so strong, that great minds are swept away by the current and unable to resist these influences. Two centuries after Tiberius, Ulpian, defining again this *crimen majestatis*, which had already served such base and sanguinary purposes, calls it the crime nearest to sacrilege, *proximum sacrilegio crimen*. And, indeed, at Rome, religion was blended with all things. The emperor was sovereign pontiff, and destined to apotheosis, and his statues were pontifically consecrated. Is it so very long since, in modern Europe, to break a holy image or a religious symbol has ceased to be a crime involving death?[1] We may be indignant at this apotheosis of emperors, some of whom were a disgrace to humanity, but we are forced to acknowledge that this political and religious consecration was given to the ruler, accepted by the people, and guaranteed by the law. Montesquieu says: "In order to judge men, we must excuse in them the prejudices of their time." Excuse them? No! But surely take them into account.

With his political and military powers, the emperor commanded obedience; with the law against treason, he strove to secure his personal safety. Tiberius now made a formidable use of it.[2]

The premature deaths of Germanicus and Drusus left him alone, exposed to all attacks; he felt the perils of this isolation,[3]

[1] The penalty of death for sacrilege was not abolished in France until after the Revolution of July, and in England only by an Act of Parliament in 1835. I do not speak of the famous executions of the eighteenth century in France, nor the condemnations in 1816 for words, writings, coins with the emperor's effigy, etc. Confiscations were frequent through the entire duration of the old monarchy. Abolished for the first time in 1790, they did not finally cease until 1814.

[2] Freytag (*Tiberius und Tacitus*, pp. 292–307) enumerates all the prosecutions brought before the senate under Tiberius of which any trace remains, and gives 147 accusations concerning 134 persons, or at least six persons accused yearly. Many of these prosecutions, however, refer to really criminal actions, not concerning the government in any way. The cases of high treason are only fifty-two. Of these fifty-two accused persons, four killed themselves, one died before judgment was rendered, twelve were put to death, five banished, four imprisoned or held in surveillance, two set at liberty on bail, three pardoned, fourteen acquitted, seven discharged, the accusation being abandoned. Thus twenty-six persons accused of treason escaped: just half of the entire number known to have been accused during the twenty-three years of the reign of Tiberius.

[3] According to Josephus he even said to Caligula, in recommending Tiberius Gemellus to his care: Αἵ τε γὰρ μονώσεις ἐπικίνδυνοι τοῖς εἰς τηλικούτων πραγμάτων ὄγκον κατάστασιν (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 9).

and as these two deaths, which created a void around him, had increased the hopes of factions, it also augmented his suspicions; from that day he believed himself menaced and in danger. The love of aristocratic liberty was, it is true, in the head rather than the heart, in men's memories rather than their affections. Though not very dangerous to the imperial form of government, it was, however, a peril to the emperor;[1] for, if it could not bring forth a revolution, it was still always capable of plots, either with the partisans of a senatorial revolution, or with the ambitious men who desired to become emperor. Those rulers in whose time something is founded or something comes to an end are continually exposed to this peril.

Agrippina, wife of Germanicus and mother of Caligula.[2]

The ambitious men of this period, not daring to undertake anything on their own account, gathered about Agrippina, making capital of her feelings of resentment towards the emperor, and hoping to employ her children for the overthrow of Tiberius, intending meanwhile to get rid of them later. More than one doubtless repeated to the young princes what the Jew Agrippa said to Caius: "Will not this old man soon depart for the other world leaving you master of this one?"[3] There was then a numerous party[4] gathered about Agrippina, which Sejanus pointed out to the emperor as already prepared for civil war. Tiberius allowed his minister to attack it.

Silius, one of the leaders who boasted too loudly of having preserved the Empire to Tiberius in the affair of Sacrovir's revolt, and had stained his victory by rapines, being accused of extortions and of treason, took his own life. Tacitus says that Agrippina's friendship caused his death, and it may be so; but the historian is forced to acknowledge that the charges against Silius were grave;

[1] [Thus the recent discontent in Ireland, powerless against the English Government, took the direction of plotting the murder of English officials. —*Ed.*]

[2] Bust of Agrippina, surrounded by the legend: AGRIPPINA M F MATer Caii CÆSARIS AUGUSTI.

[3] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8.

[4] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 17: *esse qui se partium Agrippinæ vocent.* According to Josephus, the armies were all gained over to the sons of Germanicus and finally to Caligula. . . . . Καὶ μάλιστα τὸ στρατιωτικὸν ἦρτο, αἱρετὸν ἀριθμοῦντες τὸ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐκείνῳ πᾶν γενησομένης εἰ δέησει, καὶ τελευτᾶν (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 3).

it was after this prosecution that the senate rendered magistrates responsible for the misconduct of their wives. The wife of Silius was sent into exile.[1]

Another of Agrippina's friends, her cousin Claudia, was accused of adultery and condemned. At news of this, Agrippina hastened to Tiberius, whom she found offering sacrifices on the altar of Augustus. This circumstance exasperated her still more: "Why," she cried, "make offerings to Augustus when his family are persecuted?" Tiberius, listening calmly to her reproaches, replied with the Greek line: "Are your rights then invaded if you do not reign?"

Statue of Tiberius found at Capri.[3]

The other party had their turn; the republican Cremutius Cordus had stung Sejanus. "He is not set over our heads," said Cordus; "he climbs thither himself."[2] Accused for his History of the Civil Wars, he defended himself with dignity. "Is it believed," he said, "that I wish by my writings to excite the people to civil war, to bring back Brutus and Cassius in arms upon the battle-field of Philippi? Notwithstanding the sixty years that have passed since their death,

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 18–20.

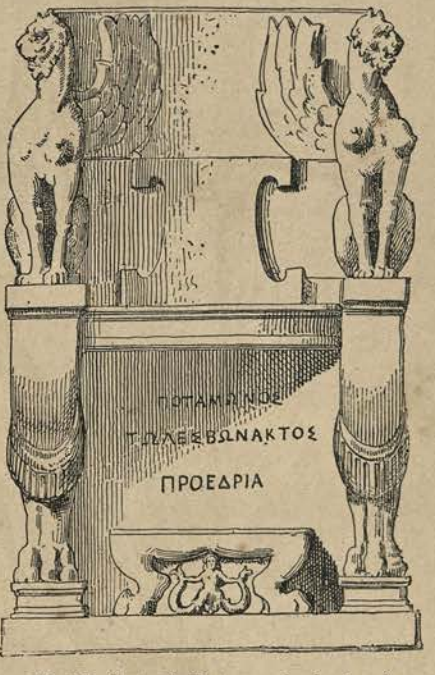
[2] Sen., *Consolatio ad Marciam.*

[3] Tiberius clad in the toga. This admirable statue, found in the island of Capri, is now in the Louvre, No. 111 of the *Catalogue* Clarac.

history preserves their memory, as the statues which the conqueror himself has not destroyed preserve their features. Posterity assigns to each his share of fame, and if I am condemned, there will not fail to be citizens who will be mindful of Brutus and Cassius, and even of me." After these proud words he quitted the senate house, returned home and shut himself up, and died of voluntary starvation (25 A.D.).[1] This was the first crime of Tiberius, and the first example of those Stoic deaths which show us that there were yet some of the old Romans left in the midst of the universal degradation.

The senate caused all the works of Cordus that could be discovered to be publicly burnt. His daughter Marcia hid a copy, which was multiplied, until, says Seneca "his writings are now in the hands and in the heart of all Romans."

A few days later Agrippina fell ill; Tiberius visited her, but she received him with a persistent silence and with tears. Then, breaking out into entreaties and reproaches, she asked of him a husband as a protector for the widow and children of Germanicus.[2] The emperor in his turn became silent, and went out without making answer to this imprudent request. Thus they continued to exasperate one another. Sejanus neglected nothing that might increase this enmity. He secretly warned Agrippina to beware of her father-in-law's banquets, and one day, at the emperor's table, she remained through the whole dinner silent, with downcast eyes, and touching no food. Tiberius,



Marble Seat of Potamon in Lesbos.[3]

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 35.

[2] Tacitus (*Ann.*, iv. 53) records this fact from the *Commentaries* written by Agrippina's own daughter.

[3] Texier, *Voyage en Asie Mineure*, vol. ii. This seat, which is still used by the Metropolitan, was given to Potamon by the Lesbians, that he might have a seat of honour at their games.

surprised and offended, affected to praise the fruits placed before him and offered them to Agrippina; she handed them to a slave, but would not eat them herself. He addressed no reproaches to her, but turning to Livia, he said: "Can any one wonder that I should show some severity towards a woman who wishes to make me thought a poisoner?" An old friend of Germanicus not long after bore the penalty of Agrippina's imprudence.

About this time (26 A.D.) Tiberius quitted Rome, with the determination never to reside there again. He was accompanied by Sejanus, Atticus, a Roman knight of good family, Cocceius Nerva, the able jurist, and some learned Greeks whose society was agreeable to him. He, who so rarely laughed, was pleased at their subtle wit, and indulged in sportive conversation with them. One of these Greeks being about to leave him, the emperor gave him a safe-conduct thus written: "If any man propose to do injury to Potamon of Lesbos, let him first consider whether he is in a position to declare war against me."[1] He travelled slowly through Campania, and the next year withdrew into the beautiful island of Capri. He was at this time sixty-nine years of age. His old age took nothing from his mental activity,[2] but his body was bent, and his face at times covered with ulcers, and he desired to hide these tokens of decrepitude. Upon that solitary rock, whither he had been led by a great contempt for mankind and a scorn of official pomp, he sought security for his latter days. Far from Rome and the trouble which there surrounded him, his will would be better obeyed, for an unseen power is always more impressive; in this island, too, he believed himself more in safety. His grandson Tiberius was at this time only eight years of age, while two of the three sons of Germanicus had already reached man's estate.[3] Hopes were growing up around them. The people, who neither love the old age of royalty, nor a cold and severe administration, did not conceal their preferences: their whole affection was for the race of Germanicus. Any good fortune happening to them, or any

[1] Strabo, xiii. p. 617.

[2] Suetonius (*Tib.*, 41) says that from this moment he abandoned the cares of government. We shall see, however, that the closing years of his reign were not idle. It is true that he took no pleasure in war; but, when a serious danger presented itself, as for example, when the Parthians entered Armenia, he at once took energetic measures.

[3] The youngest, Caligula, was fifteen, and Nero, the eldest, had been eight years married.

calamity to Tiberius, was equally a cause of public rejoicing;[1] and the old emperor feeling himself hated, believed himself surrounded by plots. Sejanus had just saved his life, and this proof of devotion increased his favour. The ruler now saw only through the eyes of the minister whom he had suffered to come between himself and the Empire.

Against the success of his ambitious views the prætorian

Bas-relief of marble, found at Capri: a Scene of the Elysian life (?).[2]

præfect now found no obstacle remaining save the sons of Germanicus; accordingly he strove to excite the emperor's suspicions of his too impatient heirs; he persuaded him to appoint guards to attend them, to keep watch upon their movements, their visits, and the messages that they received. Meanwhile traitors, suborned for

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, ii. 84; iv. 12.

[2] Museum of Naples. A marble very difficult to explain. It may represent, after death, a husband and wife in the flower of their age, the husband in heroic costume, that is to say, without garments, and the wife as a nymph. They are led towards a fig-tree, behind which stands Love in repose, or Hermes, the leader and shepherd of souls. It is possible also that this beautiful bas-relief is a hymeneal scene: a young couple coming to adore a sacred tree, behind which is a god of gardens.

the purpose, endeavoured to mislead the sons of Germanicus. The young men were advised to take shelter around the statue of Augustus in the Forum, to implore the protection of the senate and the people; to try even the fidelity of the legions by seeking refuge with what had formerly been the army of Germanicus. They rejected all these guilty propositions; but they were blamed for having heard them, and they were represented to Tiberius as ready to put any of them in execution.

The eldest, Nero, for whom his mother manifested an imprudent partiality, and whom his friends and clients urged to seize a fortune by which they would have profited, gave ground for suspicions by his impatient and haughty words in regard to the favourite who "abused the weakness of an old man." His wife and his brother Drusus betrayed him, and carried everything to Sejanus, who flattered Drusus with the hope of imperial power.

Tiberius believed it necessary to strike this party a second time. On the first day of January, 28 A.D., Sabinus, the warmest partisan of Agrippina, was dragged to prison. This sad affair showed clearly to what the magistrates and senators of Rome had been reduced. Four ex-prætors were the instruments of his ruin. One of them obtained his confidence by seeming to share his hatred, and brought Sabinus into his house, where he wrung from him the most imprudent words. The three others, hidden between the arch and the ceiling, listened through the chinks, and reported all to Tiberius, who asked of the senate the offender's head. That which the four prætors did, others attempted daily, for even among men of the highest rank there was an emulation in villainy only explicable by the perversion of the moral sense in the higher classes, and the necessity of finding new ways to wealth. Each of the two accusers of Thrasea was rewarded with more than £40,000, and the betrayer of Soranus had the quæstorship, besides the money he received. Hence they are keen on the scent of crimes and in quest of victims. Civil law, political law, criminal law—each serves in its turn. Augustus had called upon the citizens to seek out infractions of his *lex Pappia-Poppœa;* and at once informers had fallen upon the city, upon Italy, and the whole Empire. "Already had they destroyed many fortunes, and spread terror in every direction, when Tiberius, to remedy the evil, gave

commission to fifteen senators to modify and define the law. The evil for the moment was diminished."[1] But when he himself loosened the rein which he had drawn; when, by the law of high treason, a word, a gesture, could be made into a crime, "then terror brooded over the city. Kindred dreaded one another, men no longer accosted each other, or dared so much as to speak; whether between strangers or acquaintances there was a mutual avoidance; everything was an object of suspicion, even the mute and inanimate walls."[2] It was the civil war beginning anew with its proscriptions and bloody affrays. But here a word was a sword —the senate and the Gemoniæ, the battle-field—the rich and noble, the victims.[3] In these unarmed duels the emperor was more often a witness than an actor; as an arbiter, he looked on with the people at this terrible game which the aristocracy offered both emperor and people;[4] one keeping account of the blows, and decreeing to the most murderous the palm of eloquence,[5] the other, carrying off the fallen, to make sport of their dead bodies in the streets of the city. Tiberius gave but few combats of gladiators; the people were compensated by these executions.

Tacitus relates that a senator, Domitius Afer, who had enriched himself once by a successful accusation, having foolishly squandered the reward of his infamy, associated himself with Dolabella, a man of very high station, to ruin Varus. The senate refused to receive the information, saying that the presence of the

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, iii. 28.

[2] *Ann.*, iv. 69. It appears by the affair of Sabinus that here Tacitus does not exaggerate.

[3] Lucan says this, *Phars.*, i. 685:

Impiaque in medio peraguntur bella senatu;

and Seneca, *de Benef.*, iii. 26: *Accusandi frequens et pene publica rabies quæ omni civili bello gravius togatam civitatem confecit;* and as a proof that it was indeed the civil war breaking out again, the executioners were always centurions and soldiers.

[4] See, for example, the enmity of the two consuls of the year 31, Regulus and Trion, who mutually accused each other of treason; then, when their term of office was expired, were summoned by the senator Haterius to fulfil the threats they had reciprocally made. (*Ann.*, v. ii.; vi. 4.) One Cotta indulged in some pleasantry at the expense of Tiberius, and was denounced *a primoribus civitatis* (*ibid.*, 5). Cf. vi. 7, *quod maxime evitiabile tulere illa tempora, cum primores senatus infimas etiam delationes exercerent . . . . infecti quasi valetudine et contactu.* To this add that special taste of the Romans who cannot live without going to law, says a jurisconsult (ὄντας αὐτοὺς ἐν πολιτείᾳ οὐκ ἐνῆν ἐκτὸς εἶναι δίκων, Theoph., *Inst.*, i. 6, § 4), and that at Rome, as in Greece, the right of accusing belonged to every man. Nero asserted that he had read in the *Memoirs* of Claudius: *nullam cuiusque accusationem ab eo coactam* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 43).

[5] Thus to Domitius Afer: *suojure disertum eum appellavit* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 52).

emperor must be awaited; and the historian adds: "This was the sole resource against pressing necessities"—a strange expression in the mouth of Tacitus, and significant.[1]

Let it not be thought that we exaggerate in relating these duels where, as in the Middle Ages, in the judgments of God, the vanquished was given over to the executioner. Augustus subjected the accuser who did not make good his charge to the penalty the accused person would have suffered; and Tiberius caused informers to be put to death.[2]

II.—Destruction of the Family of Germanicus; Fall of Sejanus; Cruelties of Tiberius (29-37).

Tiberius had only to let affairs take their course to be rid of those whom he feared. But he feared much, for he knew that "whosoever despises his own life can always render himself master of another's;"[3] and he wrote to the senate after the death of Sabinus: "My life is constantly in danger; I still am in fear of new plots." He referred to Agrippina and Nero. They were almost immediately struck down (29 A.D.). Livia, who had, it was said, interceded for them, had just died, aged eighty-five, and Sejanus, freed from the restraint which the old empress imposed upon him, urged their destruction. Anonymous writings were current in Rome, full of sarcasms against the minister. One of these went so far as to suppose a session of the senate where the ex-consuls were seen to speak and express opinions with great freedom. Sejanus believed or feigned to believe that a revolt was about to begin. "The senate," he wrote to Tiberius, "despises the resentment of the emperor; the people are in rebellion; false harangues and decrees of the senate are in circulation and publicly read. All that is left for them to do is to take arms, and proclaim as chiefs, as emperors, those whose likeness they desire to see upon

[1] Here Tacitus fails us for nearly three years, an irreparable loss, for while we often differ from him, it is he himself who furnishes us with the means to combat him. What a contrast between the rich development of his history, his stately style, and the gossiping mediocrity of Dion, who, with Suetonius and Josephus, is now our only resource.

[2] Suet., *Octav.*, 32; Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 30.

[3] Montaigne, book I., chap. xxiii.

their standards." It is the misfortune of governments like this that the prince constantly dreads the ambition of those nearest to him. It was a situation which Tiberius had not created, but he aggravated it by his suspicions, his contempt of men, and his readiness to shed blood. In the solitude where he dwelt, far from the world and the sound of all the executions ordered by him in

Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne (Isère).[1]

Rome, he easily came to be pitiless. The sons of Germanicus became a trouble to him, and he made them disappear. Agrippina, removed from Rome, was conducted to the island of Pandataria by a tribune, who, it is said, treated so roughly this grand-daughter of Augustus, that he put out one of her eyes; four years later she ended her life by voluntary starvation. Nero, sent to Pontia,

[1] Livia died at the age of eighty-three or eighty-five (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xiv. 8); Letronne, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte*, p. 171. The *consecratio* or canonization which made her *diva* and gave her temples did not take place till the time of Claudius. Tiberius was too sceptical to make gods.

was shortly after put to death there, or else committed suicide (31 A.D.); his brother Drusus was shut up in an underground room of the palace at Rome; only the youth of the third brother Caius saved him. It was well to keep him alive, in case of some unforeseen need, and he could be got rid of at any moment if he became dangerous.

All the family of Germanicus were thus, so to speak, destroyed; Sejanus believed that he was approaching the goal. He had shortly before this ventured to ask the hand of Livilla, the widow of Drusus; this was almost to solicit the title of the emperor's son-in-law and heir to the Empire. Tiberius had refused the request, but with friendly words;[1] and in the year 31 he took Sejanus for a colleague in the consulship. The senate, believing that they divined the emperor's intentions, outran them, and gave the first alarm to his suspicions by decreeing to the minister the same honours as to the prince himself. Statues were erected to them side by side, their seats were placed together in the theatre, and it was decreed that they should be consuls together for five years. Sejanus was already a demi-god; sacrifices were offered before his statues; and —a thing never done seriously except in Rome, and in the Rome of this epoch—he himself sacrificed to his own divinity. Some called him the true emperor; the other, they said, is only the king of Capri. Antonia, the sister-in-law of Tiberius, who, like Agrippina, had honoured her widowhood by a long and irreproachable chastity, perceived more quickly than did the emperor the secret designs of the conspirator. "Sejanus," she wrote to him, "conspires with the senators. Generals of the army, soldiers bought with money, the freedmen of the imperial palace even,

Agrippina, wife of Germanicus.[2]

[1] We must, however, note them, for they show the interior of the imperial household . . . . *Inimicitiæ Agrippinæ, quas longe acrius arsuras, si matrimonium Liviæ, velut in partes, domum Cæsarum distraxisset: sic quoque erumpere æmulationem feminarum, eaque discordia nepotes suos convelli* (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 40).

[2] Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 210 of the catalogue (sardonyx in three layers, $1\frac{3}{4}$ by 1 inch).

have joined in the plot;" and she revealed to the emperor all the particulars of it.[1] Tiberius did not venture to strike at once. He wished first to sound the real inclinations of the senate, of the people, and of the prætorians; to study the resources of Sejanus, in order to destroy them in advance. He had already sent away Sejanus from Capri to Rome, where the latter's consulship seemed to render his presence necessary, in reality the better to keep watch upon him while seeming to leave him more unobserved. The emperor began by letters skilfully calculated to call out the various sentiments of Sejanus. At one time he wrote that his health was ruined; at another, that it had again become excellent; and when his late favourite asked permission to come back into Campania, announced that he himself was about to come to Rome. Occasionally he blamed Sejanus, but more generally praised him. He bestowed favours upon some of his friends, and ill-treated others. He appointed Sejanus pontifex, but also bestowed the office of augur and the Augustal priesthood upon Caius, who owed this return of favour and fortune to the fears now inspired by the murderer of all his nearest relatives.[3] With these titles Tiberius also bestowed high praise upon the young prince, and made it apparent that he designed him for his successor. Emboldened by the popular joy at the rumour of this elevation of a son of Germanicus, he dared still more, pardoning an accused person, an enemy of Sejanus, and forbidding sacrifices to be offered to a man still living.

Antonia.[2]

While the prætorian præfect was thus held in suspense, one day attacked, on the morrow caressed and restored to confidence, he

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8.

[2] Engraved amethyst of the *Cabinet de France*. Antonia, wife of Drusus the elder, represented as Ceres, holding a cornucopia.

[3] Suet., *Calig.*, 12.

lost the opportunity of replying to these underhand assaults by a revolution,[1] while Tiberius made sure of the people, shattered the party of Sejanus, and detached from it the senators who had had most confidence in him. At last Sejanus understood, in finding himself alone, that he was threatened, and he knew Tiberius too well not to know that the threat was sure to be very quickly followed by the execution. He hastened his designs, sought and found agents to attempt the emperor's life;[2] but Tiberius, invisible, kept watch upon him, and the moment having come, the blow fell. On the night of the 18th of October an officer of the prætorian guard, Macro, arrived in Rome, from Capri. He at once communicated his orders to the consul Regulus and the præfect of the night watch. In the morning he met Sejanus at the door of the Curia; the latter was surprised that Macro brought him no letters from Tiberius. "I have letters," rejoined Macro, "and they invest you with the office of tribune." The late favourite believed that the emperor once more placed himself in his power, and went to his seat in the senate. Macro, before following him thither, exhibited to the prætorians of the minister's suite a letter from Tiberius constituting himself their commanding officer; he promised them a largess, and dismissing them, substituted for them the night watch, who at once surrounded the Curia. Then entering the senate house, he gave the consuls the letters he had brought for them, and immediately going out again, repaired to the camp of the prætorians to prevent any seditious outbreak there. He had received orders, if any disturbance broke out there, to take Drusus out of his prison and present him to the senate and the people.[3]

[1] We conclude this from the words of Tacitus (*Ann.*, v. 8; vi. 8), Suetonius (*Tib.*, 65), Josephus (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6, 6), Philo (*Leg. ad C.*, p. 997 d, and 1015 b), and lastly, of Juvenal (*Sat.*, x. 56–107, especially lines 74 and 75):

. . . . *Si Nortiâ Tusco*
Favisset, si oppressa foret secura senectus
Principis.

A singular inscription, much mutilated, but still containing the essential words, gives some reason to believe that Sejanus had sought support for his projects among the populace . . . . *improbæ comitiæ* . . . . (*Marini, Atti*, p. 43, and Wilmanns, 1699.)

[2] Dion, lviii. 9–11. Juvenal, *Sat.*, x. 61.

[3] Dion, lviii. 4–12. In the *Memoirs* of Tiberius, written by himself, which were read by Suetonius, the emperor said: *Sejanum se punisse quod comperisset furere adversus liberos Germanici filii sui.* There is only a portion of truth in these words. But it may be that Tiberius was, I will not say repentant, but aware that he had augmented rather than dimipished his dangers in allowing Sejanus to destroy the family of Germanicus.

The letter of Tiberius was very long, to give Macro time to make sure of the fidelity of the guards. The emperor began with a matter of small importance, brought in a few words against Sejanus, then went on to another subject, and again returned to Sejanus, without anger or excitement. Finally, coming closer, he distinctly accused two members of the senate, friends of Sejanus, and demanded that the minister himself should be arrested. Upon this, the senators nearest to him, who just now had offered him their congratulations, drew away and reproached him, the tribunes and the prætors surrounded him, the consul seized him and dragged him away, amid the howls of the people, to the Mamertine prison, where the same evening he was put to death. His body, abandoned to the populace, was dragged through the streets and torn in pieces, so that not a limb remained for the executioner to cast into the Tiber.[1] The people, with their taste for blood whetted, rushed upon the partisans of the fallen minister, while the prætorians, enraged that their share in the work had been given to the night guards, burned and pillaged in the city.

After the victims of the people there were those of the prince: Blæsus, the uncle of Sejanus, his friends—and he had many, for he had been long in power—and his children. From this day dated the cruelties of Tiberius: up to this time the minister rather than the master had been held responsible;[2] but when Apicata, the widow of Sejanus, revealed to the emperor that her husband had seven years before poisoned Drusus, by this crime causing all the perils that had gathered about the old age of Tiberius;[3] when he saw himself outmatched in dissimulation by a man who, the better to secure the success of his designs, had saved the emperor's life at the risk of his own, and when he knew the extent of the plot and the number of the accomplices, he thenceforth trusted for security to the executioner only. "From this time," says Suetonius, "his cruelty knew no limits; he multiplied tortures and

[1] Sen., *de Tranq. an.*, 11.

[2] Dion, lviii. 12.

[3] Apicata killed herself after having written this letter, in which she also revealed the complicity of Livilla. Tiberius desired to pardon the latter, but her mother Antonia caused her to be starved to death (Dion, lviii. 11). To verify the account given by Apicata, many slaves and freedmen who were supposed to be cognizant of the crime were brought to Capri and put to the torture.

punishments, and for whole days the management of this affair so engrossed his mind that a Rhodian, his guest, whom he had invited to come to see him, being announced, the emperor, persuaded that he was one of the persons to be put to the torture, ordered him to be tortured, and, discovering his mistake, caused the Rhodian to be killed that the matter might thus be hushed up. At Capri the place of execution is still shown, a rock whence the condemned at a signal from the emperor were pushed into the sea. Sailors awaited them below, and any who were yet alive were beaten to death." At Rome the senate long continued to receive and to call for accusations, and Tiberius was the first to weary of these murders, which the baseness of the senators multiplied. To end the matter he ordered the execution of all those who were retained in prison. Twenty condemned persons, and among them women and children, were strangled in one day, exposed on the Gemoniæ, and then thrown into the Tiber.[1] After a brief rest the condemnations began anew, and this time Tiberius arrested them in a different way: he caused the most shameless informers to be put to death, and forbade all disbanded soldiers to appear as accusers. Information now became a privilege limited to the senate and the equestrian order.[2]

However, even in these dreadful years, the emperor was not always pitiless. A knight, accused of having been the friend of Sejanus, replied that "Tiberius himself had also been his friend, and that while it was just to punish the accomplices of the traitor, those who had, like the prince, been his friends only, ought, like the emperor, to be absolved." Whereupon he was dismissed, and those who had accused him were punished with exile or death.[3]

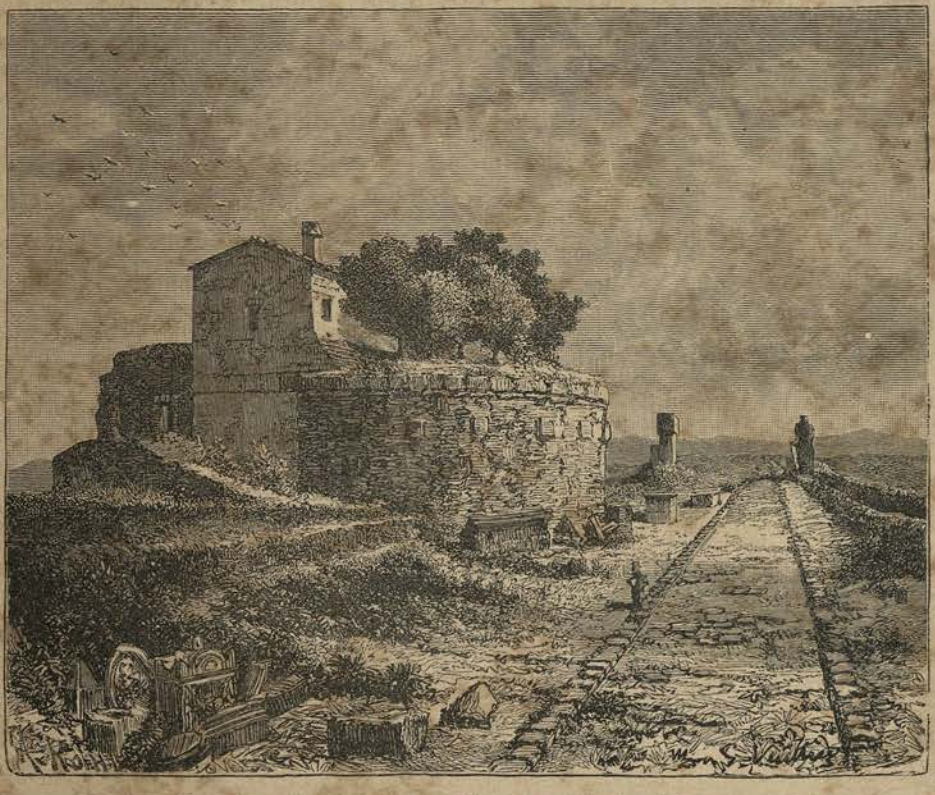
Messalinus Cotta was denounced by the chief men of the city for having spoken ill of the emperor, but Tiberius forbade the case to be brought up, and caused one of the informers to be punished. Many accused persons were forgotten in their prisons, for instance,

[1] I take the figures of Suetonius (*Tib.*, 61). Tacitus avoids mentioning a number, which gives him an opportunity to draw a picture which resembles the massacres of September (*Ann.*, vi. 19).

[2] Dion, lviii. 21.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 8–9, 30; Dion, lviii. 19. Claudius condemned to fight in the arena those slaves and freedmen who, under Tiberius and Caius, had set on foot calumnious accusations or borne false witness (Dion, lx. 12).

Agrippa, who had wished the emperor's death; Vitellius, who, it was said, had promised to make over to Sejanus the public treasure under his charge; and the ex-consul Pomponius. Vitellius, wearied by the delay of his case, killed himself; the other two, wiser, awaited for seven years the emperor's death, and were



Tomb of Messalinus Cotta, on the Appian Way (Canina, *Via Appia*, pl. 36).

set at liberty by his successor. Unconsciously appreciating the deplorable situation brought about by the fault of the times, the crimes of some, and the baseness of all, one of the biographers of Tiberius is ready to felicitate him on having spared the friends of Sejanus.[1]

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8. Ἐφείσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλων τινῶν καίτοι τῷ Σηιανῷ ᾠκειωμένων (Dion, lviii. 19). Rubrius, who took refuge with the Parthians, is arrested, *mansit tamen incolumis, oblivione magis quam clementia* (*Ann.*, vi. 14). In the year 34, an ex-ædile, accusing the commander of the legions of Upper Germany of having thought of taking a son of Sejanus for son-in-law, was expelled from the city.

It happened then sometimes that the tyrant slept. A prætor, Lucius Sejanus, who publicly ridiculed the emperor, was not even molested, and two accusers of Arruntius were punished. Of five senators accused of treason two were acquitted; the cases of the three others were by the emperor's order postponed till he himself should come to Rome, which he never did. Of these three, one afterwards conspired against Claudius, the second against Nero; as for the third, Scaurus, censured for his infamous life and accused of adultery and magic, he killed himself.[1] To conclude, there was place for long and honourable lives; Piso, the præfect of Rome, died an octogenarian, having for twenty years filled a most difficult position honourably and without base complaisance.[2] His successor wielded the same authority in a like manner, and has the eulogium of Tacitus. Lepidus also, the noblest man in Rome after the family of the Cæsars, he whom the dying Augustus pointed out to Tiberius as one of the candidates for the imperial power, remained the friend of both prince and people. It was possible, then, under Tiberius, to live without sycophancy on condition of living without intrigues, and for that a man must be neither conspirator nor informer, either of which at this time almost every Roman noble was.

After all this commotion Tiberius believed it necessary to show himself in the environs of Rome. He came by way of the Tiber to his gardens near the Vatican, but the troops kept the people away from the river banks. So great was his distrust that he would have Macro, his new prætorian præfect, accompany him with tribunes and centurions when he went to the Curia. The senate hastened to add the further precaution that every senator should be searched before entering, to make sure that no man concealed a poniard. Such was the senate of Tiberius! Servile and grovelling, and the more to be feared for that; to-day condemning without order of the prince a mother who wept for her son; to-morrow ready to drag Tiberius to the Gemoniæ if some successful assassin should murder him.

But the senate and the emperor parted for the last time; Tiberius returned to his island, where, it is asserted, he gave

[1] *Ann.*, vi. 7 and 9. See Seneca's report concerning Scaurus (*de Benef.*, iv. 31).
[2] *Ann.*, vi. 10–11.

himself up to infamous pleasures. Voltaire, the great doubter, doubted this, and we share his opinion. When men saw this terrible man retire to his inaccessible rock, their imagination exhausted itself in inventing for him monstrous pleasures and supposed impossible scenes as the only gratifications that he could enjoy. Tacitus throws discredit in advance upon the narrative of Suetonius and upon his own of the orgies of Capri, when he contrasts with the dissipated life of Drusus the austere and stern solitude in which Tiberius lived at Rome.[1] Certainly we should not guarantee his morals, in a time when no man had any, but we take into account his past life, his terrible anxieties, his labours, and especially his age. In any case, however, it is the ruler rather than the man whom we have to study.

[1] *Ann.*, iii. 37: . . . . *Solus et nullis voluptatibus avocatus.* He had added a sub-division to the *Lex Pappia-Poppæa: quasi sexagenarii generare non possent* (Suet., *Claud.*, 23). This measure does not seem the act of an old libertine. It is to be noted that the writers of his time, or very nearly succeeding him, Philo, Seneca, and Pliny the elder, appear to know nothing about Capri. The Jewish historian Josephus, who was well informed concerning Tiberius, and speaks of Capri, makes no mention of the atrocities said to have taken place there. Tacitus himself tells us that Tiberius was not accustomed to remain long at table, for, two days before his death, to deceive the foresight of Charicles, *discumbit ultra solitum.* At a moment like that, already in the grasp of death, he certainly could not have had the strength to remain there a really long time, and by comparison with his usual habit a little time was an excess (*Ann.*, vi. 50). Cf. Suet., *Tib.*, 34, on the simplicity of his table. Seneca (*Epist.*, 95) relates that one day there was given him a grey mullet weighing forty-five pounds, and he sent it to the market. "I shall be much surprised," he said to one of his friends, "if Apicius or Octavius do not buy it." They did, in fact, dispute for the fish, and Octavius obtained it at the price of 5,000 sesterces. Philo (*Leg. ad C.*, p. 996 b, c), in the curious picture which he draws of the prosperity of the Roman world, says that Caligula was attacked in the seventh month of his reign by a very serious malady arising from his relinquishing the frugal and healthful method of living practised by Tiberius. In his youth, Pliny says, he loved wine, but became *in senecta severus* (xiv. 28); he loved light and ordinary articles of food: pears (xv. 46), cucumbers, chervil, and cabbage (xix. 23, 28, 4). One of the two friends whom he took with him to Capri was the ex-consul Nerva, a very learned jurisconsult, a person of serious character and his ordinary counsellor. The history of Agrippa, related at much length by Josephus, does not exhibit Tiberius as a very formidable person, except towards those of whom he was himself afraid. This Agrippa had long owed the emperor 300,000 pieces of silver; the imperial governor at Jamnia purposed to arrest him in order to obtain the money; he escapes and makes his way to Capri, where Tiberius receives him kindly and lodges him in his palace. On the morrow letters arrive from the governor, and then all the displeasure that Tiberius manifests is simply to forbid Agrippa access to the palace for the future until he shall have paid the debt. Later, a freedman of Agrippa informs against him; Tiberius imprisons the informer and refuses to investigate the accusation. But Agrippa insists. Tiberius replies that Agrippa had better be careful about entering upon a matter which, on being examined, may bring harm to him. Still Agrippa persists, and the language he is found guilty of having used might well have cost him his head, but he is let off with a very mild imprisonment (*Ant. Jud.*, xvii. 8).

At Rome the war went on which the nobles were making upon each other in the name of the emperor, and condemnations were pronounced often for motives which we find it hard to comprehend.[1] Terror still brooded over the senate, and the accusation of treason was like a sword suspended above all heads, most frequently, however, by Tacitus's own admission, smiting victims who deserved no pity. There broke out at this time one of those epidemics of suicide which have appeared in other countries.[2] Men killed themselves for a word spoken by the ruler, through weariness of life, even without motive, like Nerva, the old friend of Tiberius, who starved himself to death in spite of the emperor's urgent entreaties. An ex-consul fears that he may be accused; he at last kills himself in order at least to have the gratification of writing in his will invectives against Tiberius and Macro.[3] The heirs wished to keep this will a secret, but the emperor would have it publicly read. He forbids Galba to draw by lot a province; he gives to others the priest's offices promised to the two Blæsi; whereupon Galba and the Blæsi commit suicide. The emperor writes to Labeo that he renounces his friendship; Labeo opens his veins, and his wife imitates his example. One Scaurus is accused on account of a tragedy in which, under the figure of Atreus, Tiberius has been recognized; his wife counsels him to die rather than make answer to the charge, and herself gives him the example.[4] Gallus, for three years a prisoner, starved himself to death; one Vitellius did the same. Men thus made their escapes from the weary life of the prison, or from the public trial and the shame of the Gemoniæ. Reaching the limits of a long life, satiated with pleasures, others for a moment displayed the grand courage of earlier days; they draped themselves proudly in Cato's mantle, and "to the great advantage of heroism, each chose the time at which his own drama should end,"[5] by an act

[1] See Suet., *Tib.*, 58; and Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 26.

[2] Cf. Montaigne, *Essais*, book i., chap. xl.; book ii., chap. iii., and Brière de Boismont, *du Suicide et de la folie-suicide.*

[3] We may notice, however, that these invectives against Tiberius are not very formidable: *multa et atrocia in Macronem ac præcipuos libertorum Cæsaris composuit, ipsi fluxam senio mentem, et continuo abscessu velut exsilium, objectando* (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 38).

[4] It is the same Scaurus, so much censured, of whom we have before spoken.

[5] Montesquieu, *Grand. et décad.*, chap. xxii., in part borrowing this thought from Seneca (*Epist.*, 77).

which the Stoics considered the height of virtue, calling it the "reasonable departure."[1]

Apicius one day inquires of his steward how much is left to him after all his mad prodigality; he learns that it is but 2,500,000 drachmas; this not being enough to carry on his wonted style of living, he departs. You have known Marcellinus, says Seneca. He was young; he had wealth and friends and slaves; he, however, suffered from a painful malady, though not an incurable one. He asked himself whether he should not do well to be rid of physicians and of life at the same time. He called his friends together and laid the matter before them; a vote was taken on the question. A Stoic represented that life in reality did not merit so much thought, since a man shares it with animals and slaves, and it is only to eat and drink, to amuse oneself and to sleep, and always a repetition of the same things. When this becomes wearisome one naturally prefers death. Marcellinus considered the advice good; his slaves were overcome with grief; he gave them money, consoled them, and made his final arrangements. He remained fasting for three days, and was then placed in a warm bath where, in his enfeebled condition, he soon expired, murmuring gently how pleasant it was to feel oneself going so easily.[2]

These were men of pleasure and *ennuyés*, who, "fatigued with their idle existence, were conscious of a bitterness hidden in the very sources of pleasure."[3] All over-refined society has attacks of this malady; some of the five thousand annual suicides of France are certainly its victims.[4] In the case of accused persons the situation is different. It was for the interest both of themselves and of

[1] Εὔλογον ἐξαγωγήν, or "happy despatch."

[2] Seneca cites (*Epist.* 23) the words of Epicurus: "How wearisome it is to begin life anew morning after morning." A few years later Claudius sought to compel the senators to be present at the sessions of the senate; many refusing to fulfil this duty of their office he punished them, and some committed suicide: ὥστε τινὰς ἑαυτοὺς ἀναχρήσασθαι (Dion, lx. 11).

[3] Lucretius, *de Natura rerum*, iv. 1,129.

[4] From 1871 to 1875 there has been in France an average of 5,256 suicides. (*Essai de statistique morale* of Professor Morselli, Milan, 1879.) The number in 1878 was 6,434. It prevailed in all stations of life. An inhabitant of a little town in Umbria, presenting a cemetery to his fellow-citizens, forbade the interment there of suicides or criminals (*C. I. L.*, vol. i. p. 265, No. 1,418), a custom which the Church has preserved. At Rome it was the fashion to drown oneself from the Fabrician bridge, *ponte Quattro Capi* (Hor., *Sat.*, II., iii. 36), as Parisians hang themselves in the *bois de Boulogne*.

the emperor that everything should be done quietly, within the palace or the villa: the latter, by avoiding the public spectacle of so many punishments, diminished the odium of condemnations, since deaths apparently voluntary had the air of being so many confessions of crime; the former, by anticipating the lictor saved their property, their wives, and children, and, what in pagan belief was a matter of importance, their own funerals.[1] Moreover, whither could a man flee? The Empire was so vast! To conceal oneself was neither dignified nor safe, and Roman indolence, as well as Roman pride, revolted against asking an asylum from barbarians.

This is all true, but a time when such resolutions are possible is nevertheless an accursed epoch, and since the ruler would have had the credit of prosperity, it is right he should have the shame of murders and despair.

One of the most odious acts of the time was the assassination of Drusus. This prince merits no esteem; he had betrayed his brother and been one of the flatterers of Sejanus, and Tacitus judges him severely; but Tiberius should have respected the blood of Germanicus. The rumour having gone abroad of a reconciliation between Drusus and the emperor, the people of Rome manifested a joy which was the young man's death-warrant. Being condemned to death by starvation, for Tiberius would not permit the executioner to shed the blood of the Julian family, he supported life for nine days by devouring the tow with which his mattress was stuffed.

Agrippina did not outlive him; she allowed herself to die of starvation (18th October, 33 A.D.), although the guards strove, forcibly opening her mouth, to compel her to take food.[2] Tiberius basely pursued her memory, accusing her of debauchery, and causing himself to be thanked by the senate that he had not publicly exposed upon the Gemoniæ the body of a grand-daughter of Augustus.[3] Thus, with the exception of Caligula, the whole

[1] *Eorum qui de se statuebant, humabantur corpora, manebant testamenta, pretium festinandi.* For ordinary suicides there were no funerals: *suspendiosis*, says Varro, *justa fieri jus non est* (Servius, *ad Æn.*, xii. 603), a custom still preserved by the Church.

[2] Suet., *Tib.*, 53. In the Capitol is shown the urn which contained her ashes; in the Middle Ages this urn served as a standard measure for grain.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 25.

house of Germanicus was exterminated, and the opposition which it represented drowned in blood. Despotism, whether at Rome or at Constantinople, cannot act otherwise; it must needs clear the space about it, either by exile or death. But let us quit these scenes of murder, which have justly made the reputation of Tiberius detestable, and would end by distracting our attention completely from the Empire.

To the Memory of Agrippina.[1]

The administration of Tiberius in the last years of his life had the same character of firmness and good sense that had marked its earlier period.[2] Discipline was strictly maintained, even among the prætorians. After the death of Sejanus he gave them a largess, but he remained always their chief, never their flatterer. One of them having stolen a peacock from an orchard, he punished the soldier with death.[3] The people having given way to fault-finding on account of the high price of grain, Tiberius reproached the consuls and the senate for not having repressed this licence, announced the provinces where corn was obtained, and proved that the importation was larger than in the time of Augustus. A decree of the senate and an edict of the consuls, couched in terms which recalled the early severity, reduced the people to quiet and obedience. The emperor did not even hesitate to re-establish the tax of the hundredth, which he had at first reduced by one half.[4] The magicians had returned again to Rome, and in many cases were distracting families and the populace by their predictions; and the emperor a second time drove them out. The admission of a new Sibylline book being proposed, Tiberius refused it, being averse to such means of government and regarding as sufficient the oracles that Augustus had revised.

One year, the informers, letting the law of treason rest, had fallen upon a regulation of Cæsar, who, to combat one of the great evils of Rome, usury, had forbidden any man to keep in

[1] Coin representing the *carpentum* on which the ashes of Agrippina were brought back to Rome upon the accession of Caligula.

[2] . . . . τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα καὶ πάνυ πάντα δεόντως διώκει (Dion, lvii. 23).

[3] Suet., *Tib.*, 60.

[4] Dion, lix. 9; Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 13.

specie more than 60,000 sesterces, and prescribed that the rest should be placed in lands or houses throughout Italy.[1] This bad economic law had quickly fallen into disuse. Men had kept their money in hand, and many made it produce them an income. The prætor, alarmed at the number of offenders, made his report to the senate; the senators themselves were all guilty; they sought pardon from the emperor, who allowed them a year and a half to conform to the law. A senatus-consultum decreed that two-thirds of the sums called in should be employed in the purchase of Italian real estate. The immediate repayment of loans ruined many debtors, while the creditors, taking advantage of the delay which the law accorded them, kept their money in reserve to profit by the reduced price of lands which the borrowers were obliged to sell. Money was, therefore, no cheaper than before, and could only be obtained at a high rate of interest. To arrest these financial catastrophes Tiberius created a sort of loan office, establishing a fund of 100,000,000 sesterces, from which loans were made, without interest, for three years, on landed property of double the value.[2] This banking establishment and the abandonment of the senate's decree for the forced purchase of lands restored credit. A few months before the emperor's death a fire ravaged all the Aventine, where stood the temples of Diana, of Juno Regina, of Minerva, and of Jupiter Libertas, which Augustus had restored and filled with works of art; Tiberius renewed the largesses he had made on two previous occasions, paid for the houses that had been burned, and again expended in this munificence 100,000,000 sesterces.[3]

Outside Italy the provincial aristocracy was sometimes treated like that at Rome. A Macedonian noble, suspected of intrigues with a king of Thrace, was proscribed; the law against treason was fatal to two of the principal citizens of Achaia; and Marius, the richest of the Spaniards, being condemned for incest, was thrown from the Tarpeian rock.[4] In several provinces the emperor

[1] Dion, xli. 37.

[2] *Ann.* iv. 16–17. This is nearly the same as the measures adopted in France for the relief of commerce after 1830 and 1848.

[3] *Ibid.*, 45.

[4] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 18, 19. Tiberius confiscated the wealth of Marius and the gold-mines,

despoiled individuals who, contrary to the law of Cæsar, had too large a portion of their property in specie, and he took away from private persons and from cities the right which had been formerly conferred upon them to work mines.[1]

A fact related by Josephus should dispel the idea that a sordid avarice presided over the affairs of the provinces. When the tetrarch Philip died, in 34, Tiberius united his domains to Syria, but pledged himself to expend in the country all the money that he drew from it.[2] To account for the formation of the treasure that he left at the time of his death,[3] it is not necessary to believe in cruel exactions. The emperor's rigid economy, attested by countless facts, and continued through a reign of twenty-three years, together with the confiscations pronounced at Rome, explain it fully. Besides, he persisted in his custom of keeping the same individual long in office, which assured the provincials a government well informed as to their interests. Poppæus Sabinus had the two Mœsias, Macedon, and Achaia for twenty-four years; Arruntius had Spain for more than ten years.[4] For eight years Lentulus Gætulicus was in command of the army of Germany.[5] Hence, the ex-consuls no longer desired these difficult positions, which exiled them for years from Rome, and Tiberius was obliged to complain in the senate that no man was willing to go to govern the provinces or to command the armies. These refusals, which manifestly did not arise from any generous

which he held contrary to the law. Possibly the two Achaians may have been concerned in the plot of the false Drusus in the year 31 (*Ann.*, v. 10).

[1] Suet., *Tib.*, 49. We do not know how Tiberius authorized himself to effect this concentration of mines in the hands of the State, nor the means employed by him to accomplish it, whether confiscation, purchase, or the re-opening of mines hitherto abandoned. It is possible that the reasons indicated by Suetonius are no more accurate than the information he furnishes concerning Vonones, killed on account of his wealth, Suetonius says, the cause of whose death is quite differently explained by Tacitus. On the working of the mines by farmers under government, later replaced by the *procuratores Cæsaris*, working directly for the emperor, see the learned paper of Flach, on the *Bronze of Aljustrel*, lately discovered.

[2] *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6.

[3] £22,000,000, accumulated in a reign of 23 years, or about £1,000,000 annually.

[4] It is true that Tiberius, who was suspicious of Arruntius, kept him at Rome while leaving him his title. Nor did Lamia go to his province of Syria (*Ann.*, vi. 27); but this was doubtless entirely satisfactory to him, for Lamia was one of the friends of the emperor, and received from him a post of the highest confidence, the præfecture of Rome (*ibid.*). Claudius was obliged to compel by law the governors who were slow in going to their posts to leave Rome before the middle of April: *βραδέως . . . . ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξορμωμένοις* (Dion, lx. 17).

[5] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 30. Cf. Dion, liii. 14; lviii. 23.

disinterestedness, are for us a sure index of the dependence in which the emperor kept his agents, and the good administration that he required of them.[1] Two of the most important provinces, Africa and Syria, had at the time of the emperor's death governors of rare probity, says Tacitus, men of antique virtue; in Egypt, the administration of the præfect Flaccus was above reproach,

Frieze from the Tomb of Mausolus at Halicarnassus.[2]

even in the eyes of Philo, his mortal enemy, so long as Tiberius lived.[3] Accordingly attempts made from time to time were without effect. Tacfarinas in Africa could gather only vagabonds and bandits; Florus could not raise an insurrection in Belgica, nor Sacrovir in Gaul. In Greece a false Drusus appeared after the

[1] Sidon and Damascus disputed as to their boundary lines. The people of Damascus gave a great sum of money to the Jew Agrippa, the grandson of Herod the Great, that he should support them by his influence with Flaccus, governor of Syria. The latter, learning this, was extremely angry with Agrippa and expelled him from his house. Few governors in the time of the Republic had been of such stern integrity (Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 8).

[2] British Museum (from Ross, *Reisen auf den Griech. Inseln*, iv. p. 30).

[3] These governors were Silanus and Vitellius. Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 32; Dion, lix. 8; and Philo, *in Flaccum*, p. 965–6. Under Tiberius, he says (p. 980 b, d), all governors who changed their authority into tyranny were accused at Rome, and judged without hatred or favour, in accordance with justice.

death of Sejanus, made a few dupes and disappeared, and Tacitus cannot tell us what became of him.

These facts prove more in favour of the administration of Tiberius than does the wordy embassy of Smyrna, Halicarnassus, and nine other cities of Asia, disputing the honour of building him a temple.[1] To us those demonstrations are sacrilegious and servile; but to the ancients they were no more so than would be, with us, the erection of a statue to a living ruler. They meant no more than this, but they did mean that Asia was content with the government of Tiberius.

On the frontiers peace was disturbed, but only for the moment, by a revolt of the Frisii in the year 28. A centurion in command in their country required for tribute skins of the bison (aurochs) instead of ox-hides; the Frisii expelled him and killed a few Romans whom they surprised on the edge of a wood. Tiberius was unwilling to enter on a war beyond the Rhine, which might set all Germany in commotion, and he left the Frisii free of tribute.

Upon the Euphrates the Roman policy had received another check. On the death of the prince established on the throne of Armenia by Germanicus, Artabanus had caused his son Arsaces to be recognized king of the country; he had then claimed, together with the treasures in Syria, the whole of Asia Minor (35 A.D.). Tiberius did not disturb himself at this. He chose one of his most judicious officers, the wise and prudent Vitellius, and invested him with supreme authority in the provinces of the East.[2] To this concentration of all the Roman forces in Asia he added even surer methods. A prince of Iberia, Mithridates, was encouraged to make conquest of the throne of Armenia; even at Ctesiphon an intrigue was set on foot among the disaffected Parthian nobles,[3] and one of the Arsacides detained at Rome was sent into Syria. This prince having been carried off by a malady, another was substituted

[1] One of the arguments offered by Halicarnassus is that for 1,200 years the city had experienced no shocks of earthquakes, and that she could build the temple on a steadfast rock. (Tac., *Ann.*, iv. 55.)

[2] *Cunctis quæ apud Orientem parabantur . . . . præfecit* (*Ann.*, vi. 32).

[3] One of them, the governor of Mesopotamia, had served under Tiberius in Dalmatia, and had been rewarded with the title of Roman citizen. (*Ann.*, vi. 37.) Josephus expressly says that Vitellius bought over the kindred and friends of Artabanus. (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6.)

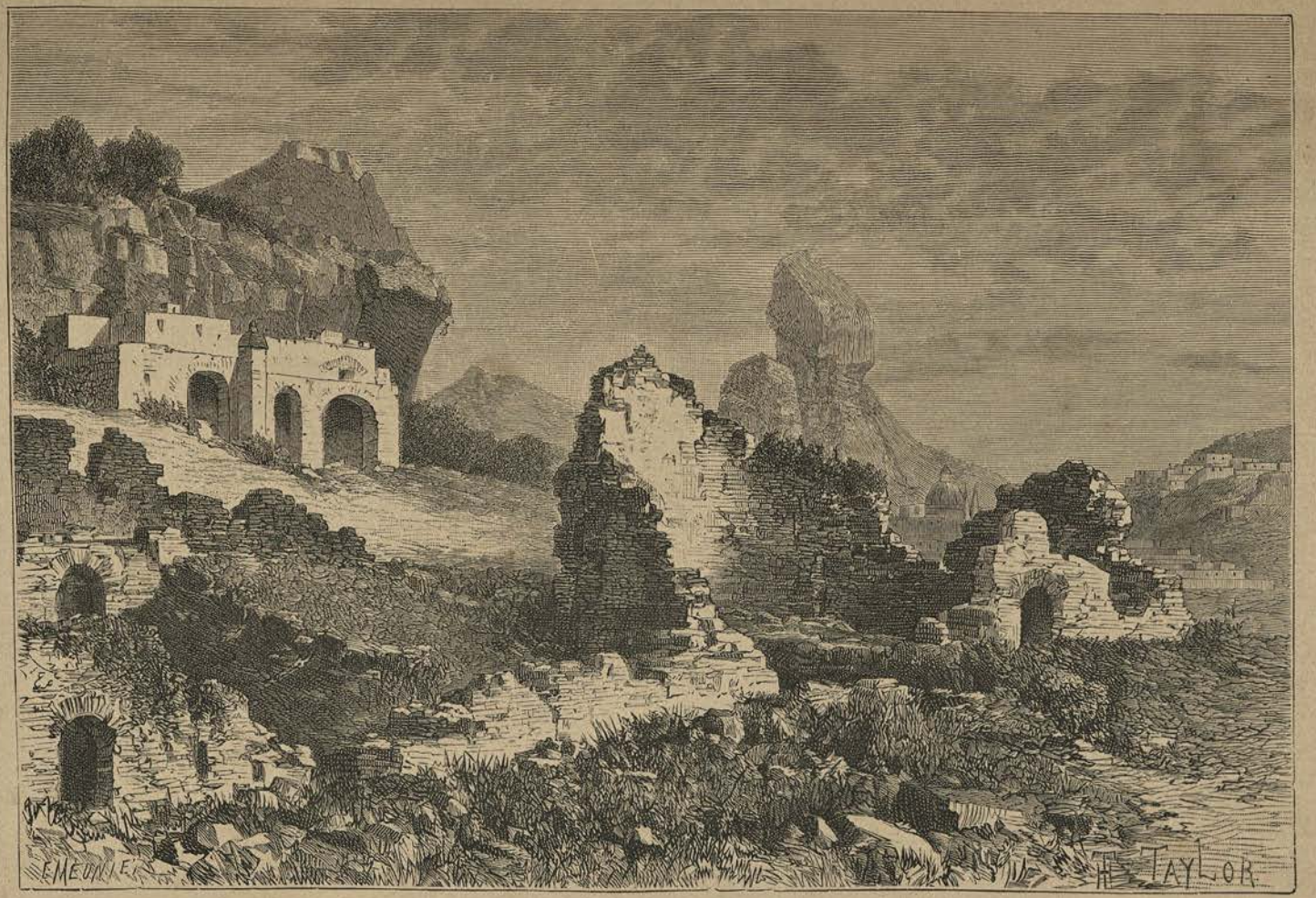
for him; finally, by bribes, Vitellius induced the tribes of the Caucasus to open to the Alanni the Caspian gates, and let loose these barbarians upon the rear of the Parthian empire.[1] This plan was successful; Artabanus, twice defeated in Armenia and threatened with a universal revolt, fled to the Scythii, while Vitellius, crossing the river without resistance, presented Tiridates to the crowd who rushed to meet the legions. The incapacity of the new prince rendered the chances almost immediately favourable to his rival. Driven out of Ctesiphon, he took refuge almost immediately upon the territory of the Empire; but Artabanus, rendered wise by misfortune, hastened to treat with Vitellius, giving him his son Darius as hostage, with large presents for the emperor.[2] Tiberius, more fortunate than Augustus, could boast in his last moments of having imposed peace upon the Parthians, after showing them the Roman eagles in the midst of their territory.

The emperor had now attained his seventy-eighth year, and for some time his strength had been failing. His mind, however, remained active; he affected gaiety to hide the decline which struck the eyes of all, and, crossing over to the coast of Campania, he made short journeys from place to place, finally stopping at Cape Misenum, in a villa which had formerly belonged to Lucullus. Charicles, a skilful physician, came there to see him, but not professionally, for Tiberius was accustomed to ridicule those who, after the age of thirty, had need that others should teach them what was good or bad for their health.[3] Charicles, in taking leave of Tiberius, felt his pulse on pretence of kissing his hand, and discerned that the emperor's death was at hand. The intention did not escape Tiberius, but instead of punishing it he ordered a banquet to be prepared, and remained at table longer than usual,

[1] *Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 4.

[2] Suetonius (*Cal.* 14) and Dion (lix. 27) place the interview of Vitellius and Artabanus after the accession of Caligula. Suetonius (*Tib.*, 66) speaks even of a letter from Artabanus, full of the most outrageous invective. But I prefer to follow the testimony of the two Jewish writers who were almost eye-witnesses of the events. Josephus said (*Ant. Jud.*, xviii. 6) that after peace had been made with the Parthians, Vitellius, by order of Tiberius, was on his way to attack the Nabathæans, when he received news of the emperor's death; and Philo declares that Tiberius had nowhere left to his successor a germ or spark of war (*Leg. ad Caium*, p. 1012 c.).

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 46.



Cape Misenum: Ruins of a Theatre which belonged to the Villa of Lucullus.

as if to do honour to a friend who was about to leave him. Charicles, however, made known to Macro that the emperor had not two days to live; on the 16th of March he fell into a swoon which lasted a long time; on recovering, he called for his slaves, but no person replying he rose from his bed, sustained by the energy of his will, but fell dead upon the floor (16th March, 37 A.D.).[1]

We have endeavoured to show Tiberius in his real character: loving neither pomp nor tumult nor the crowd; despising adulation to the degree that he found his senate too cringing;[2] braving hatred; scorning to flatter the people as much as he scorned their applause; measuring good and ill by the one standard of utility; a firm and active mind, but gloomy and severe, without prejudices or beliefs, except a faith in destiny,[3] and, like it, impassible and implacable; suspicious, because he everywhere encountered sycophancy and treason; finally, cruel, because he felt himself menaced. Isolated, unsupported, without defender interested in his cause, he struck about him as an old lion creates desolation around his lair. Thus regarded, this great historic figure is perhaps less tragic; but I believe it more true.

Tiberius accepted the struggle which, sooner or later, was sure to come among a people lacking institutions and the customs which often take their place, and whose life consequently must be a continual revolution. Now we know what justice means in time of revolution. One of the members of the French revolutionary tribunal said: "We are not judges; they are not prisoners

[1] Many accounts were current concerning the death of Tiberius; some maintained that Caius had given him a slow poison, as if his seventy-eight years were not a sufficient explanation; others asserted that he was smothered under a mattress. The latter version, as the more tragic, is preferred by Tacitus. We give the preference to that of Seneca, who was at Rome at that time, and must have been well informed.

[2] Suet., *Tib.*, 27. One of his customary sayings was: *Oderint dum probent* (*ibid.*, 59), or again: *O homines ad servitutem paratos!* (*Ann.*, iii. 65).

[3] Suet., *Tib.*, 69. Hence his credulity in respect to judicial astrology, a weakness which has prevailed too long for us to have the right of too much blaming him on this account. We shall rather reproach him for his indifference to the arts (*Id., ibid.*, 47); although, like the good manager that he was, he finished the public buildings that had been begun, and watched over the preservation of those that existed (Tac., *Ann.*, vi. 45; Dion, lvii. 10), but putting his name on none. We may also attribute to the terrorism that prevailed during his latter years the absolute literary nullity of the epoch of Tiberius, quite as much as to the absence of superior talents.

at the bar! We are political enemies, they and we." This is the reason why, to inspire suspicion is to be an offender, and to be an offender is to be a criminal. It was a miserable time when false logic hardened the heart and stifled the voice of conscience. Better glorious inconsistencies, and all the chances of a generous imprudence, than these narrow battle-fields where men killed each other with forms of law; and we cannot admit that the lictor's axe was the sole means of government left to Tiberius after the death of Sejanus.

His situation was more difficult than that of Augustus, but it was possible for him to continue his predecessor's policy. He preferred, however, brutally to tear away the veil with which Augustus had concealed his despotism. The senate, the equestrian order, all the high society of Rome, trembled before him; and in his turn he trembled before all.[1] But the government and the morals of a country are intimately united: as liberty elevates men, so tyranny debases them; it speculates upon evil passions, and by so doing excites them, and society suffers doubly in its political interests and in its moral welfare. Such were the fruits of despotism; Augustus sowed the seed, and Tiberius and some of his successors reaped the harvest.

Four years earlier the chief priests of Judæa brought before the procurator a man whom they accused of calling Himself the King of the Jews and the Son of God. Pilate found no fault in Him: this kingdom of the truth seemed a very trivial danger to the Roman governor, and he would willingly have released the victim. But to Pilate, as to his master, public order was of more consequence than justice: he gave way in cowardly terror before the threatened riot: "I am innocent of the blood of this just person; see ye to it," he said; and the crime was committed.[2]

Tiberius had seen fall before him three heroes of a national resistance to the Romans: Arminius, Tacfarinas, and Sacrovir; but the hero of humanity triumphed in His death. The arms of

[1] *Timet timentes, metus in auctorem redit* (Sen., *Œdip.*, act. iii.).

[2] The date of the death of Jesus Christ varies between the years 27 and 33, the latter date being the one generally accepted. Clinton (*Fasti Hellenici*) prefers the year 29. [His birth is placed at the end of 749 A.U.C., or about 4 B.C.—*Ed.*]

Christ nailed upon the cross of Calvary were to embrace the world,[1] and were to grasp upon their thrones the heirs of Cæsar and hurl them thence.

[1] Michel Angelo says in one of his sonnets addressed to Vasari: *Amor divino ch' aperse a prender noi in croce le braccio.*

[2] TI. CÆSAR. DIVI AVG. F. AVGVST. IMP. VIII., surrounding the laurelled head of the emperor. Bronze coin of Tiberius.

Coin of Tiberius.[2]

CHAPTER LXXIV.

CALIGULA AND CLAUDIUS (37-54 A.D.).

I.—Caligula (37-41).

BORN on the 31st of August, in the year 12 A.D., Caligula, whose true name, that of official acts and of coins, was Caius Cæsar, had nearly completed his twenty-fifth year. The old emperor preferred to him Tiberius Gemellus, his own grandson, but he allowed his personal wishes to give way to what he considered the public interest: the young Tiberius was but seventeen years of age, and Caligula, being older, seemed more capable of ruling; moreover, to select the youth as emperor would have probably been to insure his death. Tiberius, therefore, contented himself with bequeathing to his grandson a part of his private fortune and of the imperial prerogatives; but the senate set aside this will, and conferred all powers on Caligula alone.[2]

Caligula.[1]

The funeral rites of the dead emperor were observed without much pomp, and with still less grief: none of the honours were decreed him which had been decreed to Augustus; the senate did not pledge itself to swear by his acts, nor was he apotheosized: all of which was nearly equivalent to declaring him a tyrant. Also his name was never placed on the list of emperors in the accession oath taken every year by the new consuls. But I think that if Tiberius had been able, as Pliny says, to witness this conduct, he would have cared but little for the affronts offered to his memory and still less for the divinity that they refused him.

[1] C. CÆSAR DIVI AVG(usti) PRON(epos) P(ontifex) M(aximus) TR(ibunicia) P(otestas) III P(ater) P(atriæ), surrounding laurelled head of Caius Cæsar. Bronze coin.

[2] *Jus arbitriumque omnium rerum illi permissum est* (Suet., *Tib.*, 14).

Rome, wearied by the gloomy despotism which had just ended, saluted with acclamations the opening reign of the son of Germanicus. The new emperor at first justified all hopes. He paid great honour to the memory of his mother and his two brothers, going piously in person to seek their ashes; and to remove all fear of further punishments he burned the papers of Tiberius. He forbade accusations of treason, recalled those who had been sent into exile, opened the prisons, and relieved from the sentence which

The Ashes of Agrippina brought back to Rome (British Museum).[1]

had condemned them those other victims of Augustus and Tiberius, the writings of Labienus, Cremutius Cordus, and Severus: "Let men read them," he said, "I am more interested than any one else is that posterity should know all." To his grandmother Antonia he decreed the same honours that had been paid to Livia; to his sister, the prerogatives of the vestals; and to his uncle Claudius, the consulship. He adopted Gemellus, and conferred upon him the title of *Princeps Juventutis*. The people and the soldiers received largesses, which doubled the legacy of Tiberius.[2] At the same time

[1] Caligula caused the ashes of his mother to be borne to the circus in a *carpentum*. The coin represented on page 359, and the alto-relievo in the British Museum, given on this page, are memorials of that occasion. The car with four horses of the Museum, represents on the front, Mercury, guide of souls, and on the side, the Dioscuri.

[2] Tiberius had left 250 drachmas to each soldier of the prætorian guard, and Caligula doubled the sum. (Dion, lix. 2.) The urban cohorts had 125 drachmas apiece, the legions 85,

the odious tax on sales of merchandise was repealed throughout all Italy. The magistrates were restored to the full exercise of their rights, without appeal to the emperor from their sentences, and the electoral comitia were re-established; but neither candidates nor electors appeared. Finally, when he took possession of the consulship he pronounced in the Curia a discourse filled with such magnificent promises, that the senate, to bind the emperor by his own words, decreed that the imperial harangue should be solemnly read aloud every year.

With this worthy son of Germanicus, freedom and pleasure returned to Rome; the minds of men, so long oppressed, recovered their tone, and all voices, lately mute, broke out into joyous acclamations. There were *fêtes* and games and public shows: the golden age of Augustus had returned; was not this something better than liberty? A young emperor who gave everything to everybody. Incense smoked perpetually upon the altars, whither the white-robed throng, crowned with flowers, hastened daily to thank the gods for having given such a prince to the world; in three months 160,000 victims had been sacrificed, and the senate, not to remain behind, decreed that the day of Caligula's accession should be celebrated as that of a new founding of Rome.

What alarm, then, when in the eighth month of his reign Caligula fell ill! Every night the people besieged the palace to have news of him, and there were even some had offered their lives to the gods in exchange for his.

The malady arose from shameful excesses. "Caius," said the Jew Philo, who saw the emperor at Rome, "had changed his earlier mode of life, which, in the time of Tiberius, had been sober, for one very sumptuous; for all the talk was of drinking much undiluted wine and eating much food, and though the stomach were full and burdened with all these things, gluttony was not satiated. Then followed baths and emetics, and immediately thereafter again drunkenness and gluttony its comrade, and lewdness with boys and women, and other like vices which destroy both soul and body." As for Caius, his body withstood this ordeal, but not his mind. This unnamed disorder developed in him a sort of

the people 75, and, in addition to this, 11,250,000 drachmas were left to be divided among all the citizens.

furious madness; he became such as it is said Tiberius had predicted: "I let him live," said the old man, "but it will be for his own and the world's bane."

During his illness he had constituted his sister Drusilla heiress of all his property and of the Empire; some time after he married her, and when she died he made a goddess of her, under the name of Panthea[1] (38 A.D.). Gemellus caused him anxiety and was accordingly put to death. The virtuous Antonia reproaching him with his crimes, he poisoned her, or caused her to take her own life. Macro had been his confidant and protector in the time of Tiberius, but he now put to death him and his wife. Silanus, his father-in-law, shared the same fate.

Caligula and Drusilla.[2]

His sister Julia Livilla, after being the plaything of his caprices, was expelled from the palace and exiled to a desert island. Persons exiled, to whom the law left their fortunes and the imperial regulations allowed certain advantages, appeared to him to be leading far too easy lives, and he had them put to death, until there remained not a single great family in Rome that was not in mourning. One of the rights dearest to Roman citizens had been to be exempt in all cases from corporal punishment. A quæstor was beaten with rods, and senators were put to the

Julia Livilla.[3]

[1] The senator Livius Geminius took oath that he had seen her ascend to heaven, and this obsequiousness was rewarded by an imperial gift of 200,000 drachmas. (Dion, liv. 2.) See p. 28, n. 4, an inscription in honour of "the divine Drusilla."

[2] Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 219. The emperor is laurelled and wears the *paludamentum*. Drusilla wears the diadem. Sardonyx of three layers.

[3] Bronze coin of Mitylene, with the inscription: ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΝΕΑΝ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ; in the field, ΜΥΤ.

torture. An old man, an ex-consul, came one day to thank the emperor for not having taken away his life, and Caligula gave him his foot to kiss. He found it amusing to oblige those who during his illness had made imprudent vows to keep their word; one of them hesitated: he was covered with vervain and ribands like a victim prepared for sacrifice, then given up to a troop of children, who pursued him through the streets, reminding him of his vow, as far as the Tarpeian Rock, whence he was pushed off.[1]

Caligula and Drusilla.[2]

After Drusilla he successively took away from their husbands two matrons, whom he married, only to repudiate them forthwith and send them into exile. A third, Cæsonia, was better able to retain his fancy, but at the price of what terrors! He would like, he said, to put her to the torture to know why he loved her so much; or this: "Let me but make a sign and this dear head will fall." He amused himself with cruel jokes towards his friends. He loved to speak in the senate, and he invited the whole equestrian order to come and listen to

[1] A little city in Lusitania had also devoted itself for the emperor's recovery, but had prudently done nothing more than engage to fight his enemies, which assured to the town all the profit of this adulation without laying upon it any very formidable duty (Wilmanns, 2,839).

[2] Group in the Gallery of Florence (Gori, pl. 93).

him. In the palace he strove in rivalry with charioteers from the circus, gladiators and buffoons. Three ex-consuls were one day solemnly called together to hear him sing: it was Nero in advance.

He was indeed an insane tyrant playing with the fortunes and lives of his subjects, one of those malevolent beings who kill for the pleasure of killing, and his reign was the orgy of power. For the honour of humanity we are compelled to believe that the attacks of epilepsy from which he suffered when a child, and the late disorder with which he had been afflicted, had so enfeebled his mind that it gave way under the strain of power. It is rarely that the sudden change from circumstances of constraint and terror to a position of unbounded liberty can be made with impunity. Caius was at the period of life when the countenance blooms with youth; but a pallid complexion, sunken eyes and hollow temples, together with premature baldness, gave him the aspect of an old man. His sleepless nights, his inordinate activity, and his fever of debauchery show an unsound body as well as a perverse mind: *turbata mens*, says Tacitus.

Cæsonia.[1]

It has been believed that in the case of Caligula, as of Tiberius, history has been too severe, and that Suetonius and Dion have gathered a mass of anecdotes of which the credibility is far from certain. It may be that certain details of his life have been exaggerated, and that the follies which this troubled spirit could commit unawares have been overstated. But throughout his reign we find nothing of the administrative sagacity of Tiberius. This man, yesterday a slave, has no other idea than now to make men tremble before him; he takes pleasure in causing terror to his wives, his favourites, to all who approach him. "Let men hate me, if only they fear me," he was wont to say. He had a monomaniac desire of power, and studied before a mirror to make himself appear terrible. He would have neither counsellors nor ministers, and

[1] Head of Cæsonia on a bronze coin of Carthago Nova. In the field, SAL. AVG., the Health of the Emperor; a singular legend for a coin struck with the head of the woman who, in order to attach her husband to her, administered to him love-philters, which appear to have been potions aggravating his malady. (Suet., *Caius*, 50.)

with an ostentation of power, provoked peoples and individuals, without considering that the Germans might reply with a dangerous war; the Jews, whose faith he insulted, with a revolt; the populace of Rome, subjected to a tax, with a riot; the senate, whose lives he threatened, with conspiracies; and Chæreas, whom he maltreats, with a dagger's thrust. In the midst of a banquet he began suddenly to laugh, and the consuls inquiring what might be the amusing idea which enlivens the emperor: "I was thinking," he said, "how, with one word, I could have you both strangled." This idea of imperial omnipotence is his only statecraft, and with a maniac's tenacity he pushes it to its last consequences: he makes himself a god upon earth, and believes in his own divinity. "I have power over everything and over every person," he says: *omnia mihi et in omnes licere.*[1] With the conditions of power established by Augustus this was logic; but it was the logic of a madman.

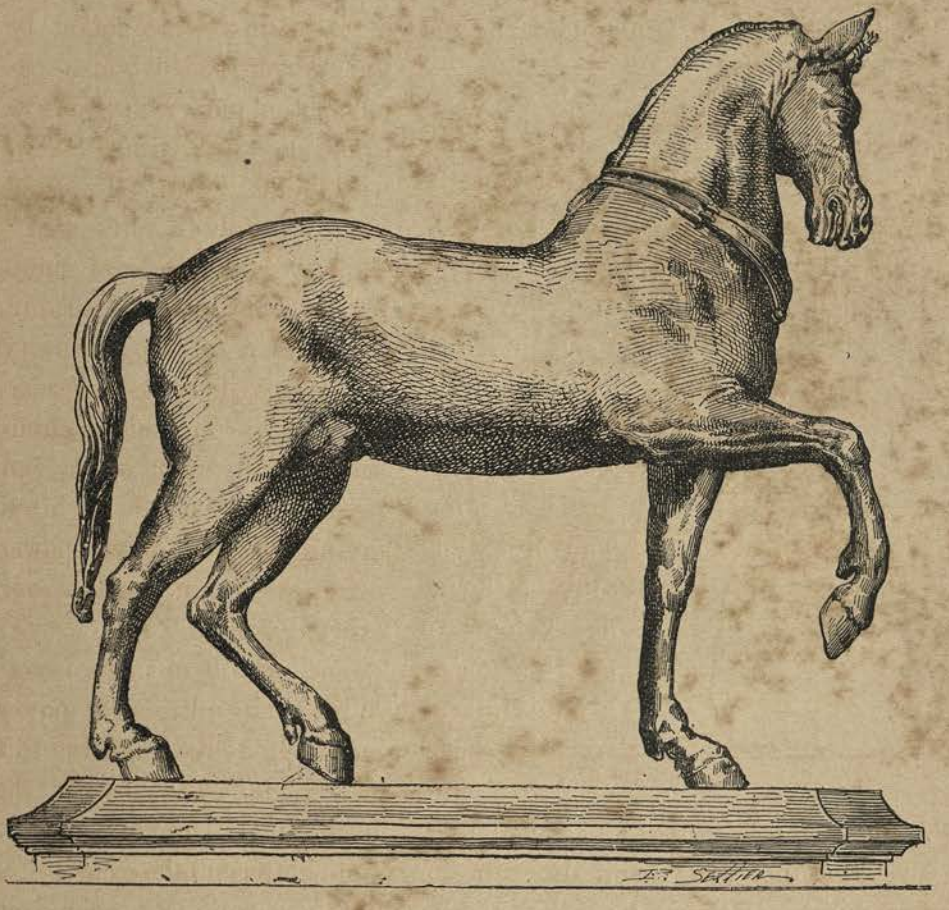
Statue of Caligula (Farnese Museum).

Mad he was assuredly, when, seated between the statues of Castor and Pollux, he caused himself to be publicly adored in the open Forum; when he successively assumed the costumes and names of all the gods; when he went to converse in the Capitol with his brother Jupiter, sometimes threatening and defying him: "Kill me," he cried, "or else I will kill you;"[2] or when, during

[1] Suet., *Calig.*, 29. This was, indeed, the recognized theory: *Jure civili*, says Seneca (*de Benef.*, vii 4), *omnia regis sunt . . . . ad reges potestas omnium pertinet, ad singulos proprietas;* and ch. 6: *Cæsar omnia habet, fiscus ejus privata tantum ac sua; et universa in imperio ejus sunt, in patrimonio propria.* Louis XIV. was wont to speak thus.

[2] Sen., *de Ira*, i. 20, and Dion, lix. 28.

a storm, he answered back the lightning by hurling into the air great stones from a machine, with heavy roar, to imitate the noise of the thunder. The most venerated sanctuaries were profaned. He ordered the statue of Jupiter to be brought to him from Olympia, and commanded that his own image should be set up at Jerusalem



Bronze Horse in the Museum at Naples.[1]

in the temple of Jehovah, the most cruel of insults to the Jews. Fortunately, Petronius, the governor of Syria, took upon himself to gain time by directing the workmen to proceed slowly with the statue. Had the tyrant lived, this prudence would have cost Petronius his life. The same fate awaited Memmius, who, in Greece, had dared to disobey the order, reporting threatening

[1] Monaco, *le Musée National de Naples*, pl. 97.

presages, in the hope of saving the great work of Phidias. Augustus and Tiberius permitted the Greeks of Asia to build temples to them; Caius took possession for himself of the one which the Milesians were erecting to Apollo, and he ordered the construction of others in Rome itself, where he instituted in his own honour sacrifices and priests; a strange priesthood, indeed, for he had made his horse, Incitatus, one of the new order, and proposed also to make the animal consul. It was a way of insulting the republican magistracy.

Neptune of the Lyons Museum.[1]

The veracity of those who relate these mad acts will perhaps be doubted, but any one who reads the *Legation* of Philo, which is a sort of official document, cannot hesitate to believe that Caius was quite in earnest about his own divinity. Philo, a person of importance in his own nation, and one of the eminent men of this age, had come to Rome with four other deputies to claim justice in behalf of the Alexandrian Jews. The first time that Caius saw the envoys he said to them, gnashing his teeth: "Do you not belong to that nation who are enemies of the gods, and, when all men recognize my divinity, despise me, and prefer to my worship that of your nameless god?" And again: "Those fools, who will not believe that I share the divine nature!" "The cause of the hatred that Caius bore to our nation," says Philo, "was his conviction that the Jews would never agree to his wish to be considered God." These words render probable the following conversation between Caligula and Vitellius, reported by Dion: "You know Diana is my wife. Do you see her when she comes to visit me?" "O master, it is only permitted to you gods to see each other." And this Vitellius was one of the great personages of the Empire.

[1] Beautiful bronze statue found at Lyons in March, 1859, in the bed of the Rhône, and near its left shore, between the bridges of the Hôtel-Dieu and of the Guillotière. Height, 59 inches. (In the Museum of Lyons.)

Caligula in heroic Costume. (Statue found at Otricoli.—Vatican, *Museo Pio-Clem.*, No. 262.)

Shall we go on to tell of his frantic extravagances, his suppers costing 10,000,000 sesterces, his floating villa, vessels decorated with purple, gold, and gems, bearing trees, vines, gardens, and porticoes, and of that bridge thrown across the sea between Baiæ and Puteoli, 3,600 paces long, made into a highway resembling the Appian Way? He went over it himself on horseback, in full armour, the troops following him with their standards, for it was an enemy conquered, Neptune. However, the emperor had been afraid of him, and before entering upon the bridge had offered a sacrifice to appease the sea god's anger, and had made another offering to Envy, in order to turn away, he said, all unfriendly influences. The next day there was a chariot race, the emperor leading, in the costume of the charioteers of the circus. Then a splendid *fête* by torch-light, and, for a last pastime, the guests thrown at random into the sea. In less than two years he had spent all the vast hoard of Tiberius;[1] condemnations supplied more money. One of the victims had less wealth than was believed: "I was deceived about him," Caius said; "he might have lived." He required a share in all fortunes disposed of by will; and if the testator kept him waiting too long for his legacy the emperor would send him poison. However, he was not pleased with speedy deaths; he would have his victims killed slowly: "Strike so that they may feel themselves dying," he said to the executioner.

Taxes of all kinds were established: two-and-a-half per cent. on all sums in litigation before the tribunals of the Empire; taxes on porters, on courtesans, and even, which was more serious, on all articles of food offered for sale in Rome. These taxes were levied before they had been publicly announced; and when there arose complaint, he caused the decree to be written in so small characters and put up so high that it could not be read, which gave him the opportunity to find many people guilty of disobedience. So the people and the emperor, so much in harmony at the beginning of the reign, ended by having no mutual goodwill; the former murmured, the latter punished. One day, in the theatre, the soldiers charged the audience; another time there was

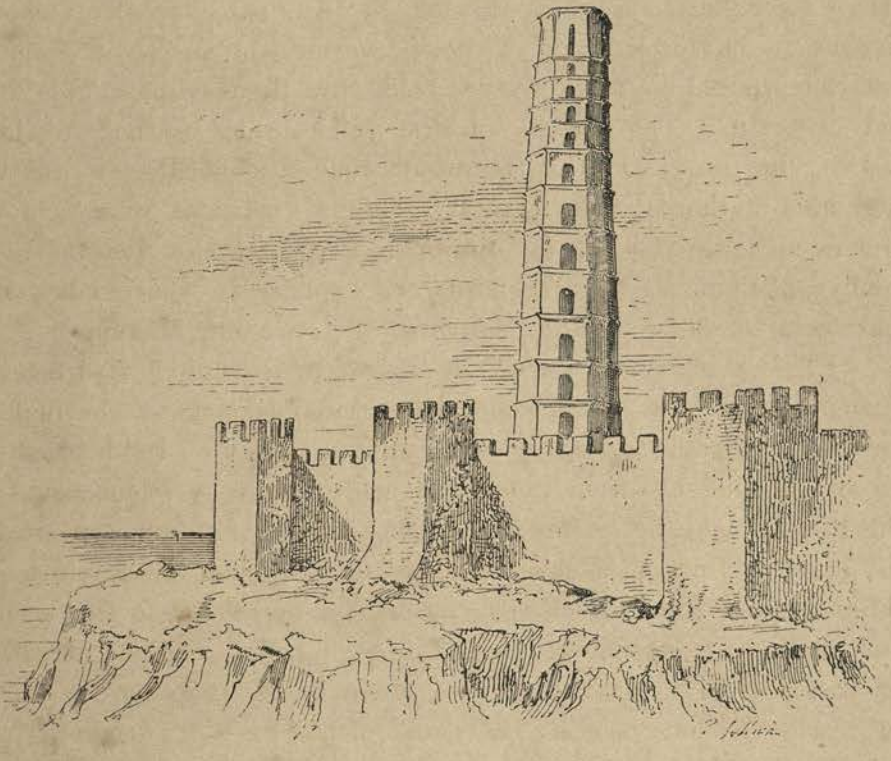
[1] See above, p. 361, n. 3.

a scarcity of criminals to throw to the wild beasts, and the emperor ordered the spectators to be taken instead.

He is malicious, and envious to boot. All fame of other men irritates him, and he would suppress history if he were able, as he suppresses the individuals who are in his way. He caused the statues of illustrious men erected by Augustus in the Campus Martius to be thrown down; he proscribed the poems of Homer, and endeavoured to drive Livy out of the libraries as a false and bad historian. The science of the jurisconsults seemed to him useless; he often said that he would render it needless to consult any other authority than himself. Family traditions were held by him in no more respect; he prohibited to the noblest Romans their family distinctions: to Torquatus, the collar, to Cincinnatus, the hair worn in curls, to Cn. Pompeius, the surname Magnus.

"This prince, who seemed to live only to show," says Seneca, "what the greatest vices could do in circumstances of the highest fortune," notwithstanding, coveted military glory. In the year 39 he set off suddenly from Rome and made a journey to the banks of the Rhine; here he set on foot great preparations and even crossed the river. But on a false rumour of the enemy's approach he threw himself from his chariot, dashed on horseback to the bridge, and finding it encumbered with baggage trains, caused himself to be passed from man to man over their heads, in order the sooner to reach the left bank. He could not, however, disguise from himself that it was not thus that Cæsar fought, and, to efface the memory of this panic, he planned another campaign. During a banquet it was announced to him that the Germans had appeared; he valiantly left the table, went out against the enemy, and returned in the evening with some prisoners. These were the soldiers of his German guard, whom he had ordered to conceal themselves in a neighbouring wood. Upon this he wrote to the senate, reproaching them for their idleness and self-indulgence, while their emperor was exposing himself to fatigues and dangers for the sake of Rome. Some real Germans at this time made an incursion into Gaul, and Galba defeating them, the emperor had for once a lucid interval, and rewarded the general instead of punishing him. A British chieftain having presented himself before Caligula, the emperor at once decided on a great expedition

into that island (40 A.D.). The story is that the legions, having arrived on the shore of Gaul opposite Britain, were ranged in battle array, and that Caligula with his fleet sailed out a short distance, tacked, and came in again; then landed and seated himself on a throne prepared upon the shore, and ordered all the



Caligula's Lighthouse at Boulogne.[1]

trumpeters of the army to sound an attack. The legions looked about for an enemy, and Caligula showed them the sea and ordered them to pick up the shells scattered along the shore. These were the spoils of Ocean, and he reserved them for the imperial palace and the Capitol.[2] A monument immortalized this victory: a light-

[1] This lighthouse was standing as late as the year 1644, when it fell. It was called *la tour d'Ordre*. It was octagonal, made of different coloured stones, with twelve stories, each a foot and a half less in width than the one below it. Each face of the first story was 24 feet in length, which made 192 in circuit and about 63 in diameter. It is believed that the height was about equal to the circumference. The origin of the name was either *Turris ardens*, or *Hosdre*, the name of an adjacent farm. Henry VIII. of England, having taken Boulogne in 1544, surrounded the tower with four bastions, making a fortress of it. (E. Allard, *Travaux publics de la France*, p. 22.)

[2] Merivale has no faith in this grotesque story, and I agree with him in thinking that

house was erected on the very spot to guide in future days the passage of his fleets over this conquered sea. He had already seven times caused himself to be proclaimed *imperator*, but nothing less than a triumph was sufficient now to recompense such glorious deeds.

In order to have captives to march behind his chariot, he carried off all the Gauls of lofty stature, or, as he said, "of triumphal height," obliging them to clothe themselves like their neighbours of Germany, to learn their language, to let their hair grow long and dye it red.

The soldiers, no doubt, laughed at these strange victories,

Foculus, or Brazier, in the Museum at Lyons.

profiting, however, by the largesses thus procured for them. Once they themselves were menaced. Caligula, at a loss for amusements, chanced to remember, in the midst of the German legions, that twenty-five years before they had revolted against Germanicus, his father. Under pretext of haranguing them, he called them, unarmed, around his tribunal, and the cavalry were already making a ring outside to decimate them when the soldiers, suspecting danger, ran to their tents and snatched their arms. The blow had failed: Caius left his discourse unfinished, abandoned his project and fled.

In the interval of the military labours which detained him two years in Gaul—to the misfortune of that country—he lived

probably vague promises of submission brought to him by some British chief, authorized Caligula in limiting his expedition as he did.

in the midst of banquets and executions, mingling them with each other, for he had always an executioner at hand ready to put a man to the torture, while the emperor sat by at table, or to put to death some provincial whose crime was his wealth. Every seven days he settled his accounts, periodically preparing lists of persons whose fortunes were necessary to him. The registers of the provinces were brought him, and he marked for death, in proportion to his needs, those who were best able to supply him.

One day, having lost at the gaming table, he went out for a moment, selected a few names at random from his registers, then returning, said to his companions at play: "Your gain but a few drachmas when you win, while I, at one stroke, add 150,000,000 to my property."

At Lyons another whim possessed him: he sold the wardrobe of the imperial palace and the furniture of his villa. He acted as auctioneer himself, and it was necessary to pay, not what the object was worth, but for the associations attached to it, and, especially, for the rank of the auctioneer. "This," he said, "belonged to my father, Germanicus; this vase is Egyptian, it was the property of Antony, my ancestor; the divine Augustus wore this mantle on the day of Actium;" and the gold pieces fell into the hand of the imperial huckster. All the wearing apparel of the Cæsars, the cast-off garments of the demi-gods of Rome passed under the hammer. One day, as he was selling what remained of the material of certain entertainments that he had given, he observed Saturninus asleep on a bench: "Keep watch on the ex-prætor," the emperor said to the crier; "he nods his head to let me know that he wants to buy." And at every motion of the luckless sleeper the sum went higher. When Saturninus awoke he found that he was owing 9,000,000 sesterces; but he had bought thirteen gladiators.

Augustus had established at Lyons contests in eloquence and poetry; Caligula added to the rules of the games that the vanquished should themselves pay the prizes gained by the victors, and that authors of unsuccessful writings should efface them with their tongue, the alternative being to leap into the Rhone. A Gaul, however, had the honour one day of telling the emperor

what he thought about him. The emperor was seated, in the character of the Olympian Jupiter, grave and silent as became a god. The man of the people makes his way through the crowd, approaches the emperor, and stands gazing at him like one amazed. The god, flattered by the impression, inquired of the man what he thinks of him. "What do I think of you?" rejoined the man; "I think that you are a very great fool." Caius was in good humour that day and pardoned the frankness. The bold Gaul was, it is true, only a poor shoemaker.

A Roman did not fare so well—rather, we may say, fared better, since Seneca has consecrated his name and his courage. Canus Julius had had a sharp altercation with Caligula, and had maintained his cause very independently. "Be satisfied," said Caligula, dismissing him, "I've ordered your execution." "Thanks, excellent prince," replied Canus; and he passed in the most perfect tranquillity of mind the ten days given him by the law of Tiberius. He was playing at dice when the centurion came to him. "Wait," he said, "till I count the points." His friends beginning to weep, he said to them: "Why do you lament? You dispute with each other whether the soul is immortal, and I am going to find it out." "What are you thinking of?" one of them said to him, at the moment when he was about to be struck. "I am curious to observe," he said, "whether in this moment the soul is conscious of quitting the body."[1]

But let us leave to Suetonius and Dion the shameful history of the third Cæsar. To relate it we should require their language, which hesitates at no word, no fact. What profit can we find in associating longer with this monster of cynicism and cruelty? He gives us the measure of what Rome could endure in the way of tyranny; but do we not know it already?

It will not be useless, however, to relate one last scene, in which we shall see to what degree of insolence Caligula had risen, to what degree of baseness the senate had fallen.

[1] Sen., *de Tranq. an.*, 14. Dion (lix. 9) attributes, however, to Caligula one good measure: the equestrian order being considerably reduced, he added to it many provincials. To diminish the power of the proconsul of Africa, he gave the command of the legion which was kept in that province to the legate of Numidia, a regulation which was continued. (*Ibid.*, 21.)

Caius had long decried Tiberius and encouraged those who spoke ill of him. On a certain occasion, however, he pronounced in the Curia one of those discourses which were destined, he thought, to secure him the reputation of the greatest orator of his time. His theme was the praise of Tiberius and the decrying of those who attacked the late emperor. "To me, your emperor," he said, "it is allowable; but as for you, you are guilty of impiety in accusing your former ruler." He then produced the papers which, at the beginning of his reign, he pretended to have destroyed, caused them to be read aloud by his freedmen, and derived from them proof that it was the senators who had caused the death of all those punished during the late reign: some by acting as accusers, others, as false witnesses; all, by rendering the decree of condemnation. And he added this terrible truth: "If Tiberius committed acts of injustice you should not during his lifetime have loaded him with honours; nor, by the gods, have blamed after his death what you yourselves sanctioned by your decrees! It is you whose conduct towards him was irrational and guilty; it is you who killed Sejanus, corrupting him by the pride with which your sycophancy inflated him. And all this gives me cause to think that I have nothing good to

Caligula. Bronze from Herculaneum.

expect from you." The discourse ended with the inevitable rhetorical figure taught by the schools and required by the rhetoricians. Tiberius himself appeared upon the scene: "You are right, my son, and what you say is true; let there be no friendship nor compassion for any of them; they all hate you, and if they can they will kill you. Do not seek to please them, and care nothing for their words. Your own pleasure and safety are the sole rule of all justice. Secure these, and these men will honour you. If you act otherwise you will seem to have obtained a profitless honour, and will surely perish, the victim of their plots. He who commands is feared and reverenced while he is strong, but surrounded with dangers when he is believed feeble." Lest this page of eloquence should be lost for posterity, Caius immediately had it engraved on a tablet of bronze.

The senate believed that they had reached their last hour. Under the lash of these insulting words and threats, could they arouse themselves to some manly resolve? On the following day they re-assembled. The orators were effusive in praise of the frankness of Caius, and his piety towards Tiberius and his indulgence towards the senate. The Conscript Fathers decreed him an oration for having conquered his just displeasure towards them, and, to celebrate for ever his magnanimity, decreed that on the anniversary of the day when this memorable harangue was read them, as well as on the festival of the Palatine, sacrifices should be offered to "His Clemency," while his golden statue should be borne to the Capitol surrounded by choirs of boys of the noblest families, singing hymns in honour of the prince.

Men of this sort were mutually worthy of each other; the subjects were well fitted to the master; all deserve to be subjected to the eternal and inexorable law of expiation which rules history and makes its morality: the victims paid for their cowardice and their vices, the executioner will soon pay for his cruelties.

The strength of a power is not measured by its violence. Notwithstanding the shedding of so much blood, this unhappy reign had weakened the springs of government, abased the dignity of the Empire, and compromised the public peace. To make the administration more uniform, Tiberius had seized every opportunity to reduce the allied kingdoms into provinces; Caligula took no

care of this kind: he made a gift of Ituræa to Soæmus; of Lesser Armenia to Cotys; of a part of Palestine to Agrippa; and gave back the Commagene to Antiochus, adding, as a compensation to the latter for the nineteen years of royalty that he had lost, a part of Cilicia and a large sum of money. It is true that not long after he took them away from Antiochus. Artabanus had driven Mithridates out of Armenia; instead of sustaining the exiled king, Caius threw him into prison and left Armenia to the Parthians. He called to his court Ptolemy, king of Mauretania, then, irritated by the curiosity of which Ptolemy was the object, he caused him to be killed. Upon which the subjects of Ptolemy revolted, and it took a long war to subjugate them.

Agrippa.[1]

Tiberius was severe towards every one; he had broken to obedience the nobles as well as the soldiers, the people and the provinces: each man was held in his place. Caius replaced this necessary discipline by the most capricious tyranny and a boundless confusion. In the theatre he liked to see nobles, beggars, and knights pell-mell, a faithful picture of his own mental chaos and contradictory wishes. To-day he ordered his soldiers to charge the crowd, to-morrow he threw millions to the same populace. He distributed among them fruits and rare birds, and he allowed Rome to come to its last sack of corn, while *fêtes* and games were ready for the public daily. His soldiers received largesses for exploits that were ridiculous, but he had the intention of decimating a whole army. He flattered the prætorians and allowed them the greatest licence, and surrounded himself with a Celtic legion formed of coarse and violent Germans who enjoyed all his favour. When the provinces sent deputations to him he received them surrounded by his architects, and made them follow him through his palaces and gardens, listening to the workmen and the orators at the same time, and mingling his orders to the masons with his responses to the envoys. And so it came about that nothing was accomplished, and had it not been for a few men trained in the school of Tiberius disturbances would have broken out at many points.[2]

[1] Bronze of king Agrippa, with the legend: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ ΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ.

[2] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 4. At the time of his death there was not in the city corn for

For nearly four years no man among the people, the army, or the provinces protested against these saturnalia. The whole Empire, like the Gaul at Lyons, stood stupefied and amazed before this great folly. However, when Caius returned from Gaul

Passage between the Palace of Tiberius and the Public Palace.[1]

to Rome with threats against the senators, whom he refused to allow to come to meet him, and even against the people themselves, wishing that they had but a single head so that he might

over seven or eight days. The only useful things accomplished by Caius were the construction of two aqueducts at Rome, and some harbours near Rhegium and in Sicily for vessels bringing corn from Egypt; and even these he did not finish. (Suet., *Calig.*, 21; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1; Frontin., *de Aquæd.*) He also placed the great obelisk in the circus of the Vatican. (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xvi. 40; xxxvi. 9; Suet., *Claud.*, 20.) It is worthy of note as a trait of the manners of the time that he allowed men to come to the public spectacles unshod, "a very ancient custom," adds Dion (lix. 7), "observed sometimes in the tribunals, often practised by Augustus in the assemblies, and abandoned by Tiberius;" on the other hand, he authorized the senators to be present at games wearing Thessalian hats as a protection against the sun. (*Ibid.*)

[1] Wey's *Rome*, p. 394. It was here that Caligula was killed.

destroy the nation at one blow, conspiracies began to be formed against this madman, "whom nature had brought forth to be the opprobrium and destruction of the human race."[1] Two of these plots were discovered; the third succeeded. A tribune of the prætorians, whom the emperor had insulted, claimed the right to strike the first blow. On the 24th of January, 41 A.D., there were celebrated in a temporary theatre erected at the foot of the Palatine games in honour of Augustus, at which Caligula was present. About noon he went out to take a little rest, and letting his German guard take the street which led to the palace, he himself entered a narrow passage by way of short-cut. Chæreas, on duty that day, followed him with the other conspirators, and struck him on the head with a sword. Caligula would have fled, but fell, pierced with thirty wounds.[2]

II.—Attempt at Republican Restoration; Claudius (41).

We have seen what absolute power had made of the first two successors of Augustus; how in his latter years it disturbed and corrupted the firm intellect of Tiberius, and from the very beginning perverted in Caligula a feeble and ill-balanced mind, staggering under the two-fold intoxication of an unlimited authority and unbridled passions. This Empire, having in truth no institutions, thus passed, at the hazard of circumstances, from a tyrant to a madman, and if at any time it met with a good ruler had reason to thank the gods.

At the news that an attack had been made upon Caligula, his German soldiers rushed into the palace, killing every one whom they met: three senators thus perished; then, returning to the theatre which the emperor had just quitted when he met Chæreas, they made their way among the audience with drawn swords and threatening aspect. The senate, the knights, and even the people

[1] Sen., *Cons. ad Pol.*, 36.

[2] Chæreas sent to have Cæsonia and her daughter, a child of two years old, killed. The senate desired to brand Caius with infamy. Claudius opposed this, but caused his statues to be removed during the night. He was not solemnly declared a tyrant; but his name, like that of Tiberius, was not inserted in the list of emperors, "and," says Dion (lx. 4), "we make mention of them neither in our oaths nor in our prayers."

were in momentary expectation of a massacre; wounded men were brought into the theatre, and the heads of those who had been killed were heaped upon an altar. A public crier now announcing that the emperor, instead of being slightly wounded as had at first been reported, was actually killed, the zeal of the Germans suddenly abated and they withdrew. The senate, thus set at liberty, immediately assembled in the Curia, and as the populace gathered outside with loud cries for vengeance, they sent out Valerius Asiaticus, who harangued the mob, openly applauding the deed. "Would to the gods," he said, "that I had struck the blow myself!"

The republicans at last found the situation perfectly suited to their wishes. It seemed to them that the experiment of a monarchical government which many had desired had now been tried, and as Caius left neither son nor colleague in his office of tribune the future was not at all compromised. Nothing hindered a return to the Republic. This Chæreas asserted; his accomplices in the murder demanded the suppression of the imperial office; there was talk of abolishing the memory of the Cæsars and destroying their temples, and the senate indulged the pleasing hope of being once more supreme. They attempted to take advantage of the tumult and to turn the revolution to their own advantage. A decree honoured Chæreas and his friends with the title of restorers of liberty; a second decree condemned the memory of Caius, and ordered the citizens to withdraw into their houses and the soldiers into their barracks, promising to the former a reduction of the taxes and to the latter largesses. Chæreas had made sure of the soldiers of four cohorts;[1] and in the evening he did what had not been done before for nearly a century: he asked the watchword of the consuls, who gave him the word "Liberty."

As in the Ides of March the conspirators had made no plan for the moment following the murder, and they wasted time in words. But where could power lie, since arms and the toga were no longer united? The senate was incapable of taking a firm resolve; and against that decrepitude there now arose a firm, confident, and decided power, the prætorians, who had a fortress just

[1] Josephus does not say whether prætorian or urban.

outside the gates, who had arms and military discipline, and an evident interest in not allowing the State to return to the days when all things were transacted in the Curia and the Forum, and nothing in the army. While the senate deliberated and decreed, they acted. Claudius, the long-despised brother of Germanicus, had been with his nephew a short time before the attack; terrified at the tumult and cries of death he had hidden himself in a dark corner. A soldier discovered him and pointed him out to his comrades. He begged for his life: "You shall be our emperor," was the reply, and as he trembled so that he could not walk they carried him in their arms to the camp. The senate sent a deputation to reproach Claudius with this usurpation of the supreme power, and commanded him to await their decision, at the same time inviting him to come and deliberate with them.

Claudius.[1]

The senators talked resolutely, but they soon perceived that the four cohorts of Chæreas, the slaves whom the nobles threatened to arm, together with the consular authority and the decrees of the senate, were all the feeblest of obstacles in the way of these veterans. As a last resort they fell on their knees before Claudius and conjured him to avoid civil war, adding in a lower tone that

[1] Statue, with uncertain and embarrassed air, found at Gabii. (Museum of the Louvre, Clarac, *Descr. des Ant.*, etc., No. 142.)

if he desired the Empire he should at least ask it of the senate. Claudius at first replied in guarded language; then, guided by the advice of the Jewish king Agrippa and by the urgency of the officers, he gave to a second deputation only the promise of a moderate government in which the senate should have a large share of influence. Finally, with a decision which he had not hitherto shown, he harangued the troops, made them take the oath, distributed money among them[1] and promised largess to their comrades of the legions, on the model of the *donativum* granted to his soldiers by a victorious general when he received the triumph: it was the price of the Empire which Claudius paid. The soldiers later instituted this custom as a law, and finally it made of the Empire a domain sold at auction to the highest bidder.

The consuls, who would have come into possession of the supreme power had it been restored to the senate, did not readily relinquish the hope of success. During the night they posted at suitable points, to prevent a surprise, the urban cohorts, who were always jealous of the prætorians, and consequently devoted to the senate, and they gathered around the Capitol a great number of gladiators, marines, the soldiers of the night-watch, and a few prætorians whom Chæreas had gained over. These precautions being taken, they convoked the senate before daylight in the temple of Jupiter. But the situation was becoming perilous; fear caused the timid to hesitate: scarcely a hundred senators responded to the consuls' appeal. The latter appeared determined to run all risks. In answer to a pacific message from Claudius they exclaimed that they would never willingly return into servitude: this was practically a declaration of war. Claudius sent

[1] 15,000 sesterces, about £150 apiece. (Suet., *Claud.*, 10.) Josephus says 5,000 drachmas, or about a fourth more. Notwithstanding a slight difference in weight, the drachma was regarded as equivalent to the Roman denarius, which was always the quadruple of the sesterce. The *donativum* was a very bad custom, but of republican origin, like the distributions of corn at reduced price. On occasion of a triumph the general always gave up to his soldiers a portion of the booty. Thus Pompeius gave 6,000 sesterces to each soldier (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvii. 6), and Cæsar, 20,000 (Dion, xliii. 21). The republican usage was entirely legitimate, because these largesses after a victory were made at the expense of the vanquished, and distributed solely among the victors; but the imperial was not so, for the *donativum*, drawn from the public treasury and granted to all the soldiers without distinction, was not the recompense of a service rendered to the State.

word to them by Agrippa that since they were desirous to fight, they had better select a battle-field outside the city, to the end that Rome at least and the temples should not be stained with the blood of citizens. This confidence on the part of the new emperor, and the desertions which multiplied from moment to moment among their defenders, had begun to shake the confidence of the most resolute, when suddenly a great tumult was heard outside the Curia: the soldiers on whom the republican party had counted were demanding an emperor, only leaving to the senate the choice of the worthiest. Immediately in the assembly the partisans of the Republic were silenced and personal ambitions broke out. Minutianus, a brother-in-law of Caligula, offered to undertake the burden of Empire; Valerius Asiaticus claimed the honour of that self-sacrifice; Scribonianus, and others still, offered themselves. While the consuls were discussing the claims of these candidates, Chæreas harangued the soldiers, reproaching them that they had so little love for liberty: "You ask an emperor," he said, "bring me an order from Eutrychus, and I will give you one." This was a charioteer of the circus who had been a favourite of the late emperor, and had had great influence with him. When the name of Claudius was shouted he exclaimed: "After a madman, do you desire an idiot? But wait, I will bring you his head." The harangue, however, did not succeed. "Why should we fight against our friends and brothers when we have an emperor?" said one of the soldiers; and, drawing his sword, he led the way to the camp of the prætorians, and all the others followed him. The populace had already preceded them thither, also eager to beg some largess in honour of the new reign.

The senators, left alone, reproached each other for their mad temerity; and in their turn, deserting the Capitol and their republican hopes, hastened to meet the man whom they had just now proscribed. Many were wounded by the angry prætorians, and there would have been many lives lost but for the intervention of Claudius. Chæreas, however, had set a dangerous example, and the new emperor, returning to the palace, ordered his immediate execution. He went bravely to his death. "Do you know how to kill a man," he said to the soldier employed to take his life. "Your sword may not be sharp enough; this one, which I used

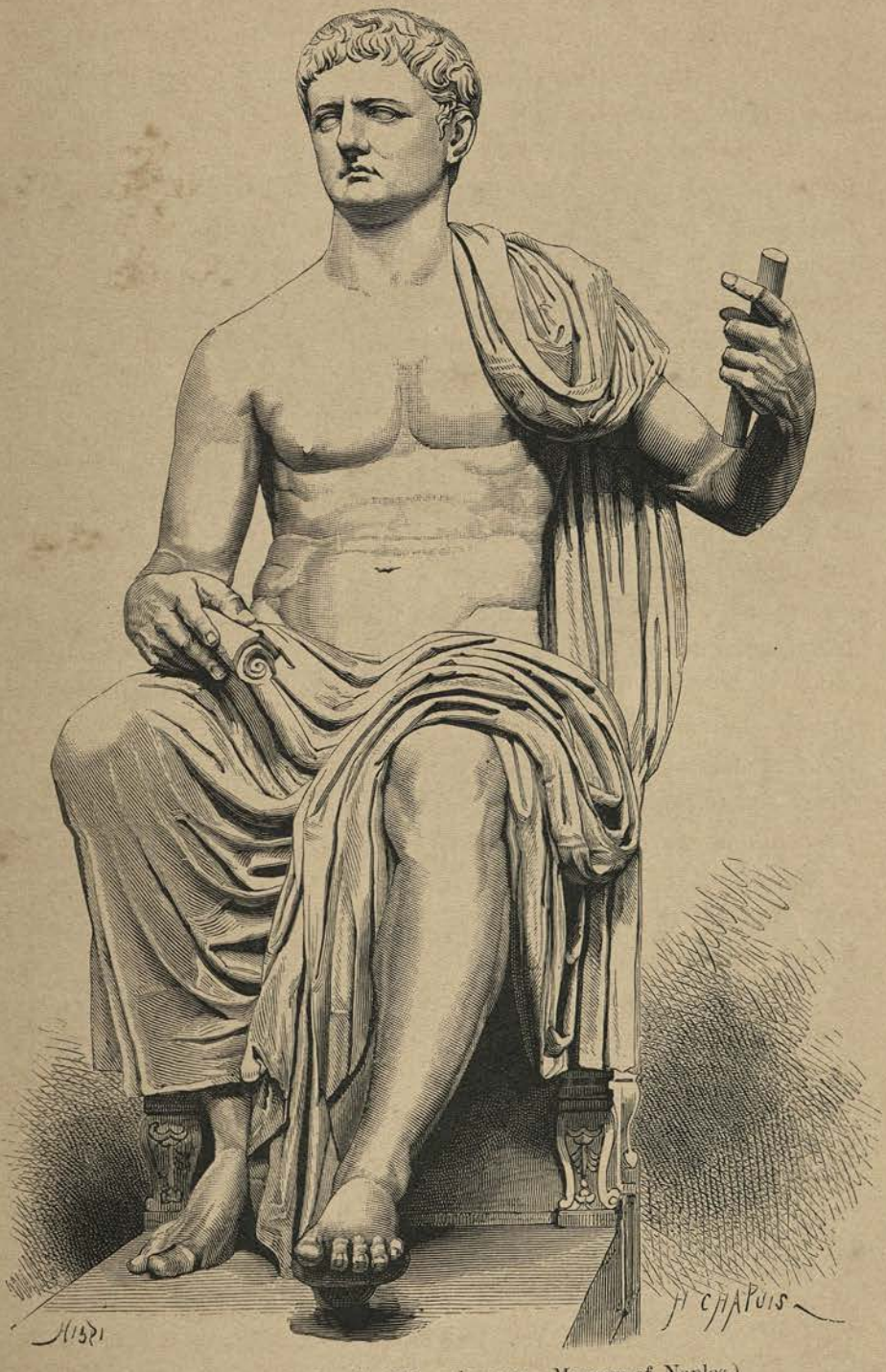
for Caligula, is better;" and he insisted on being killed with the same weapon. A few days later the *parentalia* were observed, funeral festivals when each man made libations in honour of his ancestors. Many citizens included Chæreas in these domestic sacrifices; they besought him to be propitious to them, and implored him to forget their cowardly submission. Some of his accomplices perished with him; one of them, Sabinus, whom Claudius wished to associate with himself in the Empire, refused to live, throwing himself upon his sword with such violence that the hilt of the weapon entered the wound.[1]

Such was this abortive revolution. It exhibits what we already knew: the ambitious hopes of certain of the nobles; the servility of the senate; the indifference of the citizens, now become mere town's folk; and, most of all, the weakness of the civil power which could not retain the obedience of a few cohorts. It was not the army, it was not the twenty-five legions, who had sold the Empire and conquered the senate without drawing the sword, without going out of their camp; a few thousand prætorians had been enough. How rapidly had the veil fallen which the first ruler had skilfully thrown over the imperial constitution! The fourth emperor was merely the man elected by a few of the soldiery to whom were united the Roman mob. The twenty-seven years since the death of Augustus had been enough to secure that preponderance of the army which we have shown to be inevitable as the result of the imperial institution.

We see thus what was at the basis of the Empire: namely, a permanent cause of revolution; Claudius shows us what there was at its summit: a perpetual terror. All his life he had before his mind the recollection of the assassinated Caius. He surrounded himself with guards, not only in the palace, but in the senate and even at banquets, where soldiers instead of servants waited on him, while other soldiers, spear in hand, kept watch around him.[2] No one approached him, not even a woman or child, until it had

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 1-4, and *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 18. He shows that "the people regarded the imperial power as a necessary restraint upon the designs of the nobles, their acts of violence, new civil wars, and all the evils from which Rome had hitherto suffered."

[2] Dion, lx. 3. This order remained from the time of Claudius the etiquette of the imperial court. The habit of searching those who were to appear in the presence of the emperor ceased under Vespasian. (Suet., *Claud.*, 35.)



Claudius. (Statue found at Herculaneum.—Museum of Naples.)

been ascertained by search that the person had not concealed weapons, and he would not enter the apartments of his friends until all the corners had been searched and even the mattresses of the beds examined. But precautions were useless in such a case; Claudius did indeed secure himself against sword and dagger, but he perished by poison. He fears and watches all the world, and it is his wife who kills him!

Claudius was fifty years of age at the time of his accession. Almost always ill during his childhood, he had been left in the charge of women and freedmen, in the house of Livia his grandmother and Antonia his mother, who treated with severity the poor child whom they dared not show to the people or to the soldiers.[1] Everybody at last forgot him, and at the age of forty-six he was not even senator. There had been found only one office to give him, that of augur, and this man, incapable of understanding the present, was intrusted with the task of foretelling the future. He consoled himself by literary labour, writing several books, some of them in Greek, the Annals of the Carthaginians and of the Etruscans among others, two books whose loss history deplores.[2] He even made an attempt to introduce into the Latin language three new letters, and Quintilian considered this a needful reform.[3] This patient study devoted to foreign peoples dissipated from his mind more than one Roman prejudice, and gave him intelligence enough frequently to see clearly into public affairs,[4] but not enough will to govern even his own household. As he had not a nature capable of recovering from the effects of ill-treatment, he remained throughout his reign what he had been in his youth, when he trembled before Livia and Antonia

[1] He belonged not even by adoption to the Julian family, which by aid of that legal fiction had until then perpetuated itself in power. He was grandson of Antony and Octavia through Antonia his mother, and of Livia through Drusus his father, the brother of Tiberius. Augustus alone seems to have been friendly towards him, as appears in fragments of the emperor's letters. (Suet., *Claud.*, 4.)

[2] He founded at Alexandria a new *museum* [College], where every year his two histories were to be read aloud (Suet., *Claud.*, 42): a puerile vanity, but at the same time an effort to oblige the Alexandrian Greeks to take an interest in something besides themselves, and to study the people of the West. This Claudian College, whose existence the emperor doubtless secured by an endowment, was still in existence in the time of Athenæus, in the third century.

[3] Suet., *Claud.*, 41-2; cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 13; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xix. 2; Quin., *Inst. or.*, xii. 10.

[4] Οὐκ ὀλίγα καὶ δεόντως ἔπραττεν (Dion, lx. 3).

—without manners or dignity, because he was without character; irresolute, because he had taken up a habit of obedience, so that with good intentions he allowed himself to do almost as much evil as a detestable ruler. The tyrants of Rome may be characterized by their kind of cruelty: that of Tiberius was cold and intentional; that of Caligula was savage; that of Claudius was timid and stupid. This emperor was the first to give the Romans the strange spectacle of a government of the seraglio, in which women and slaves are all-powerful. He was ruled by his wife Messalina, whose name has remained a synonym for profligacy, and by the servants who had grown old in his house.

Messalina (*Cabinet de France*, No. 3,297).

III.—The Freedmen; Reforms and Public Works.

In the early days of Rome the constitution and society were alike hostile to the freedmen, because all was done publicly and by the citizens. The case was very different under the Empire, where the ruler needed confidential agents whose lives were intimately associated with his own. The freedmen have an extremely bad reputation, and they deserve it for their spirit of adulation and servility. But, in the first place, this was the spirit of all men after the battle of Actium, of the greatest as well as the

smallest, so that it was not a new element in Roman society; and, secondly, the class of freedmen necessarily furnished distinguished individuals, for it resulted—as I have already said, and it must again be repeated, on account of the prejudice existing to the contrary—from a sort of natural selection made amidst the immense multitude of men fallen into servitude. Among those born slaves there were many who had some right to believe themselves the sons or brothers of their masters; and, besides this, we know that the most intelligent were carefully instructed and retained in the household, as scribes, grammarians, preceptors, artists, physicians, or confidential agents to manage their master's fortune. How many Turkish slaves, for the same reasons, have become pachas or viziers!

The freedmen of Julius Cæsar took no part in public matters; those of Augustus were kept in the shade. But it is a necessity for absolute governments to make use of men of low degree. The kings of France were accustomed to bestow the great civil offices of the State upon new men only, and Louis XIV. systematically excluded therefrom the high aristocracy. For similar reasons, the Roman emperors acted likewise, when the reality concealed by Augustus was laid bare by his successors, and the State became the household of the ruler. The only minister of Tiberius was a knight; under Claudius, his servants ruled—four freedmen, Callistus, who pretended to have saved his master from poison under Caius; Polybius, his reader; Narcissus, his secretary; and Pallas, his man of business. The latter maintained that he was a descendant of the kings of Arcadia, a genealogy which the senate accepted, where a Scipio extolled the self-sacrifice of the noble freedman, who, for the sake of public utility, allowed himself to be counted among the servants of the emperor. These men were rapacious, but they were also devoted and faithful. "Narcissus," says Tacitus, "would have given his life for his master."[1] Claudius, who had just now seen the senate proclaim a Republic, could not associate it with himself in the government as Augustus had done, nor could he take for counsellors those nobles who so

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 53 and 65; Dion, lx. 34. For their power over Claudius, etc., cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 3; xiii. 4; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxiii. 53; Suet., *Claud.*, 28; Juvenal, i. 108; and *The Cæsars* of Julian.

recently were disputing among themselves for the supreme power, and would so often conspire against himself. Freedmen were "safer," and he gave himself up to them completely, "and was," says Suetonius, "their servant rather than their ruler," "having," adds Tacitus, "neither affections nor hatreds other than as they were commanded to him by these men."[1]

Contrary to the habit of *parvenus*, the freedmen of Claudius showed themselves favourable to those of their own condition, and placed them in all offices. Until the reign of Hadrian the freedmen were the real administrators of the government, filling all the posts in government offices, and many foreign posts beside.[2] Moreover, to those who look elsewhere than at Rome, this government of the *libertini* lacked neither activity nor even honour.

Claudius began his reign wisely. After having caused the senate to give him most of the titles that his predecessors had enjoyed, he proclaimed a general amnesty. He knew that Galba in Gaul had been eager to obtain the imperial power, and he now placed the latter among his best friends; we have seen that he attempted to save the life of Sabinus. He annulled all the laws of Caius, but caused the observance of the laws of Augustus. He abolished the new taxes, recalled exiles, restored property which had been unjustly confiscated, and restored to the cities the statues that Caius had taken away from them. He prohibited prosecutions for treason, and gave back to their masters or else caused to fight in the arena those slaves who had served as informers. Of an easy disposition, and averse to display—to which he had never been used—he readily fell into those simple ways of living which had promoted the popularity of Augustus, but he lost the advantage of them by strange inconsistencies. Thus, he went to visit his sick friends, but accompanied by a numerous and noisy escort; he rose up before the magistrates, and paid court to the consuls and the senate as if his entire hopes rested upon their favour,

[1] Suet., *Claud.*, 29; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 3: . . . . *nisi indita et jussa.*

[2] See Hirschfeld, *Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der röm. Verwalt.* In the provinces all the officials connected with the government were slaves or freedmen of the emperor, and they lived and died in office; so that, as in the ministries of modern governments, the governors were temporary, but the officials under them remained, preserving the records and the tradition, the understanding and the habit of business. See the report of L. Renier upon the excavations in the cemetery of Carthage, 29th April, 1881.

but the Conscript Fathers were obliged to deliberate under the surveillance of the prætorian prefect and his tribunes, admitted in arms into the Curia. He loved to decide causes, and his judgments were frequently good, following equity but contrary to the law, to the great scandal of the jurisconsults, who saw nothing but texts and formulas. A woman refused to recognize her son, and the proofs were not clear; upon this he orders her to marry the youth, thus forcing her to confess herself his mother in a new judgment of Solomon. His undignified manner, his shaking head,

Games: Combats of Animals (Painting from Pompeii).

his trembling hands, his stammering, and sometimes ridiculous sentences or vulgar jokes, deprived him of public consideration. "I have heard old men say," relates Suetonius, "that the lawyers abused his patience to the extent of recalling him when he was leaving his tribunal, and catching hold of him by the toga. A Greek advocate dared to say to him: 'And you also are old and imbecile!' A Roman knight, after having reproached him with his folly and cruelty, threw a stylus and tablets in his face, which made a deep wound on the cheek."

To keep the granaries at Rome always full, he made regulations in the interest of the grain trade which lasted for a century after his time, and he made himself responsible for all the losses that the contractors suffered by tempests; but he allowed his wife and his freedmen to take advantage of the markets and cause famines, so that one year it became necessary to establish a

maximum. He sent to execution those who usurped the title of citizen; he deprived of it all those even in the Oriental provinces who did not speak Latin; but Messalina and Pallas sold it to those who were willing to pay a high price. Augustus had abolished the censorship; Claudius restored the office, and exercised it rather with the taste of an antiquary enamoured of old usages than with any feeling of the real needs of the Empire. He censured citizens who had absented themselves from Italy without his permission, accepting no defence made by the lawyers; he caused a silver chariot of precious workmanship to be broken while in the seller's possession, and published twenty edicts a day—to advise all to have their tuns well tarred because the vintage was good; to recommend yew-tree juice as a remedy for the bite of vipers; to announce an eclipse, etc.[1]

The populace, who saw themselves reflected in this timid and gossiping old man, sensual and gluttonous, a great lover of games,[2] of law-suits, and of coarse jokes, cruel but not malicious, a grumbler but not ill-tempered, a moralist about trifles, very paternal and good-humoured in reality,[3] in spite of his facility at killing—the populace loved him, and one day, at a rumour of his assassination, there was very nearly a riot.

The freedmen, who had not been long enough in power to be entirely demoralized by it, and who felt themselves as well as their master surrounded with perils, replied to conspiracies by executions, but they also sought to justify their influence by services to the State. There was seen what probably no man expected: namely, in Rome, wise measures and useful labours; in the provinces, a liberal administration; in foreign affairs, a firm policy recompensed by success.

[1] This eclipse of the sun being about to take place on the emperor's birthday, he was anxious lest it should be considered a bad omen, and he announced it to the people with all the explanations which could at that time be given. During his censorship, which office he shared with his friend Vitellius, the father of the future emperor, he made a revision of the senate. Instead of punishing the unworthy, he contented himself, following the example of Augustus, with obtaining their voluntary resignation (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 25).

[2] He remained in the theatre even while the people went home to dinner. (Suet., *Claud.*, 33.)

[3] One of his guests stealing from his dinner-table the golden cup which the guest had used, Claudius invited him to dinner on the following day, and gave him a vessel of clay to drink out of. (*Ibid.*, 32; cf. 38.)

The civil legislation of Claudius was remarkable; since the time of Augustus there had been made no innovations of equal importance.[1]

Slaves who were disabled by illness had been hitherto, as a rule, either killed or abandoned by their masters; the more fortunate were carried to the temple of Æsculapius on the island of the Tiber, and whether they died or recovered was the god's affair; Claudius decided that abandonment meant emancipation, and that the master who killed his slave should be considered guilty of homicide.[2] This law attests the movement taking place in ideas of which Seneca is the most eminent exponent in the pagan society of his time. Slaves are not as yet really men, but they have ceased to be things which the master uses and abuses at will. At the same time it was not desired by the freedmen who surrounded the emperor that the ties of patronage should be relaxed: a statute forbade the freedman to testify in court against his patron, and threatened the enfranchised person, who should give cause to his late master to complain, with a return into slavery.

The old Roman law sacrificed the family to the *pater-familias*. The Velleian decree defended women against their own ignorance of legal subtilties in reference to obligations,[3] and the mother who had lost her children obtained by an imperial statute the right of succession in common with the other agnates, *ad solatium liberorum amissorum*. To soldiers marriage had been prohibited, but their rights as fathers of families were now recognized.[4]

According to the early laws, no son in the life-time of his father could acquire any absolute property. This incapacity was by degrees destroyed by the theory of *peculia*, and especially

[1] [Or so human. Thus, the State secretary, called *a cognitionibus*, and now established, saw that the charges brought against a prisoner were properly drawn up. Cf. Mr. Cuq's memoir on this officer.—*Ed.*]

[2] Suet., *Claud.*, 25; Dion, lx. 29. Under Tiberius an amelioration had already been made in their situation. See p. 317.

[3] On the subject of this decree Ulpian says (*Digest*, xvi. 1, fr. 2, § 2): . . . . *providentia amplissimi ordinis laudata: quia opem tulit mulieribus*. . . . .

[4] . . . . τὰ τῶν γεγαμηκότων δικαιώματα. See Dion, lx. 24. Dion might have added that this privilege was accorded to the soldiers *post honestam missionem*, as is said in the inscription, No. 2,652, Orelli, which belongs to the year 52 A.D., in the reign of Claudius. See also chap. xci. § 2.

of the *castrense peculium*, established by Augustus, which gave the son whatever property he might have acquired by military service. Claudius developed this new right, and endeavoured to protect the sons of living fathers against themselves and against usurers. The latter were forbidden to lend to such persons on interest. Tacitus is of opinion that this law arrested their rapacity. It is not probable that this was so; besides, in prohibiting creditors from bringing an action against a son, even after the father's death, the Macedonian[1] decree deprived them of a guarantee which would render loans more infrequent, but also more onerous to the honest debtor.

Augustus had attacked the very rigorous doctrine of the ancient law in regard to legacies, by giving obligatory force to codicils, and the settlements in trust thus became real testamentary dispositions; the jurisdiction in cases of trusts had hitherto been committed to the magistrates of Rome, as an annual commission, but was now intrusted to them in perpetuity. Claudius also conceded it to the provincial authorities,[2] which was one step more in the direction of liberality.

The gains of the advocates had become enormous; an unsuccessful and disappointed suitor had about this time killed himself in the house of one of them. Claudius would willingly have suppressed them altogether, but this was absurd; he, however, fixed the sum of 10,000 sesterces as the maximum fee in any case:[3] and their demands probably became the greater in consequence, for such laws defeat themselves. Public holidays took up quite a portion of the year and diminished the public industry; the number of them was reduced,[4] but can we suppose that idleness was thereby diminished? These measures were, however, indices of a creditable intention.

The upstarts who ruled in the emperor's name essayed too to maintain the distinction of ranks. A man cannot become a citizen unless speaking Latin fluently, though he were one of the most important in his province; he cannot become a knight

[1] *Digest*, xiv. 6, 1.
[2] Suet., *Claud.*, 23.
[3] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 5, 7.
[4] Dion, lx. 17.

if his father was a freedman, nor a senator unless his ancestors for at least three generations have been citizens; the quæstorship, that is to say, the entrance to the public career, is permitted only to such as have fortune enough to give the people a gladiatorial combat. A free woman who had an intrigue with a slave fell into servitude.[1] The public order was carefully protected in Rome. The Jews again disturbed the city,[2] and men exiled from the provinces came in crowds: both classes of persons were expelled from Rome.

The aristocracy, deprived of office in Rome, held in the army the highest positions, and these Claudius allowed them to retain. A military regulation determined the promotion of the knights, who began by the command of a cohort, then obtained a troop of cavalry, and lastly arrived at the legionary tribuneship. It was not desired, however, that the army should remember its noble chiefs for too long a time, and it was forbidden to soldiers to hold the place of clients towards a senator, or to go to salute one in his house. A similar spirit of distrust was manifested by the emperor when he took possession of the right which had hitherto belonged to the senate, of granting permission to senators to travel outside Italy, and when he forbade the erection in Rome without special authorization of the statue of any person whatever. And even the populace saw itself deprived of its last liberties, its royalty in the theatre: severe edicts punished those who had insulted there an ex-consul and some noble matrons.[3]

In public offices Claudius made but few changes. The right hitherto exercised by the prætors of naming the guardians of wards passed into the hands of the consuls, and the procurators

[1] It was Pallas who proposed this law; the senate thanked him for it by giving him the insignia of the prætorship and 15,000,000 sesterces. He refused the money, already possessing, according to Tacitus (*Ann.*, xii. 53), 300,000,000 sesterces, or about £3,200,000.

[2] Suet., *Claud.*, 25: . . . . *impulsore Chresto.* This name, which in Greek signifies useful, good, was common at Rome among the slaves; it is to be found in many early inscriptions. It has been conjectured that the Chrestus of Suetonius was a Greek converted to Judaism. According to Dion (lx. 6), the Jews being too numerous at Rome to be driven out without causing disturbances, Claudius contented himself with prohibiting their assemblies; but, if Suetonius be of doubtful veracity in the matter of these anecdotes, the secretary of Hadrian is no less so when he refers to legislative acts. The Acts of the Apostles, xviii. 2, attest the edict of expulsion.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 13.

of the emperor obtained the privilege of having their decisions considered equivalent to the emperor's own.[1] The first of these measures seemed a good one, because it was impossible to look too high for an impartial protector of widows and orphans;[2] the second was bad, since it gave to financial agents an importance of which they made a bad use, and in making the public treasury at once judge and party in its suits, renewed the disadvantages of the old tribunals presided over by the knights. Three ex-prætors were employed to collect what was due to the State, and certain administrators of the public funds being accused of malversation, Claudius did not punish them at all, but examined their accounts, broke the contracts they had made, and watched their successors more closely.[3]

Claudius undertook great public works, says his biographer, but he cared less for the number of them than for their utility. He completed an aqueduct which had been begun by Caligula, bringing from a distance of forty miles the water of many springs, and distributed it in the higher parts of the city;[4] he also constructed a harbour at Ostia, a work which Cæsar had not had time to execute, building two piers with a mole in front of them, on which was erected a tower like the lighthouse of Alexandria, as a guide for vessels by night.[5] This work was of the highest importance for Rome, since without it the provisioning of the city in the matter of grain would have been very ill secured. The corn of Sardinia, Sicily, and Africa arrived very readily in Rome, the voyage being short and made in the summer. It was otherwise with the Alexandrian vessels, which did not sail until September; in the most favourable circumstances they required ten or twelve days to reach the mouth of the Tiber, and at

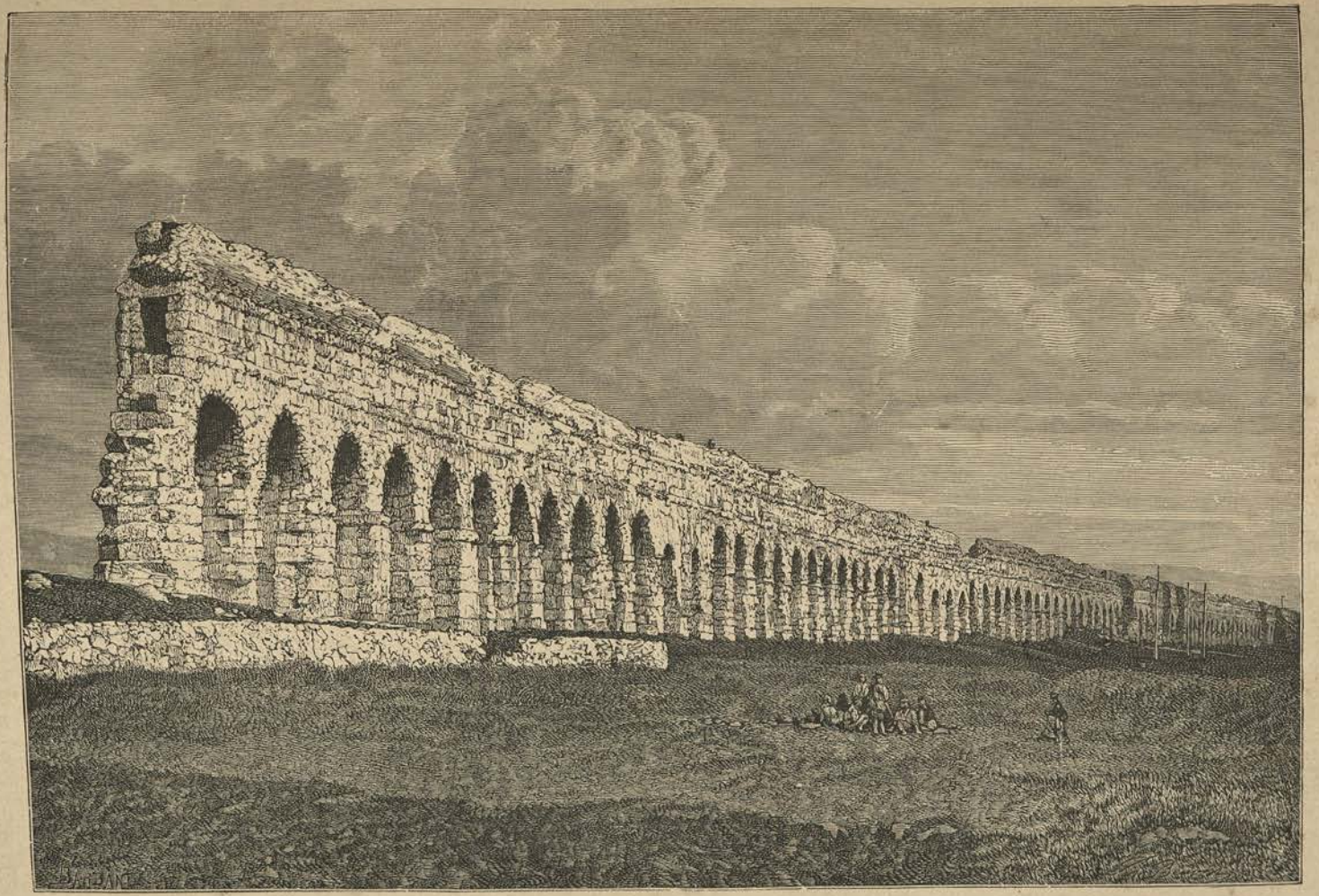
[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 60. He even gave the consular insignia *procuratoribus ducenariis* (Suet., *Claud.*, 24).

[2] Marcus Aurelius returned to the original system, changing it for the better. See chap. lxxxi.

[3] Καὶ τοῦτο καὶ αὖθις πολλάκις ἐποίησεν (Dion, lx. 1). He took from the quæstors their Italian prefectures, abolishing the office, but restored to them the management of the public funds.

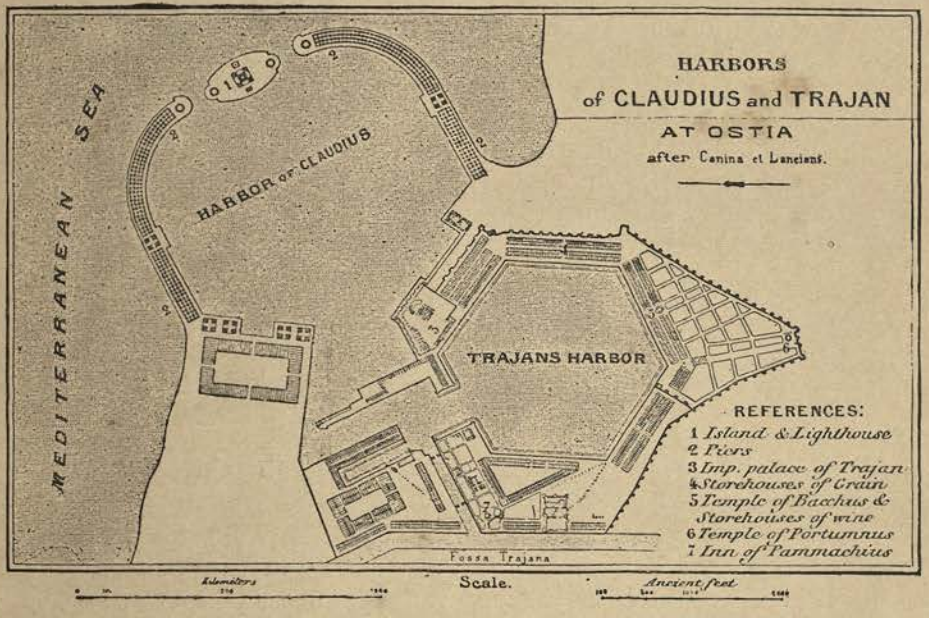
[4] Cf. Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 13, and especially Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24: "All previous aqueducts," says the latter author, "must yield to that of Claudius. Its cost was 55,500,000 sesterces. It is one of the wonders of the world."

[5] Ἐνεθυμήθη πρᾶγμα καὶ τοῦ φρονήματος καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους τοῦ τῆς Ῥώμης ἄξιον (Dion, lx. 11).



Aqueduct of Claudius in the Campagna.

that time of year the Mediterranean storms begin.[1] Places of refuge had, therefore, been prepared in the straits of Messina for vessels disabled by tempests. When from Sorrento or Capri the messenger ships (*tabellarias*) were recognized by their peculiar sails, which announced the approach of the Egyptian vessels, all Campania came down to Naples and Puteoli to salute the merchant fleet as it entered that incomparable bay, protected by the great island of Ischia.[2] There it was in safety, but from Puteoli to



Harbour of Claudius at Ostia (Restoration: *Monum. dell corresp. arch.*, 1868, pl. 4).

Rome there was a voyage to make of about 125 miles along an open coast, which was very dangerous in stormy weather, and at the end of the voyage only the muddy mouth of the Tiber. Claudius resolved to transform this bad anchorage in a large, safe harbour. The engineers of that time declared it impossible; but the emperor persisted, and a basin of 170 acres was excavated. At the same time he encouraged the ship-owners by holding himself responsible for losses at sea, and granting privileges to those who should equip vessels for the transport

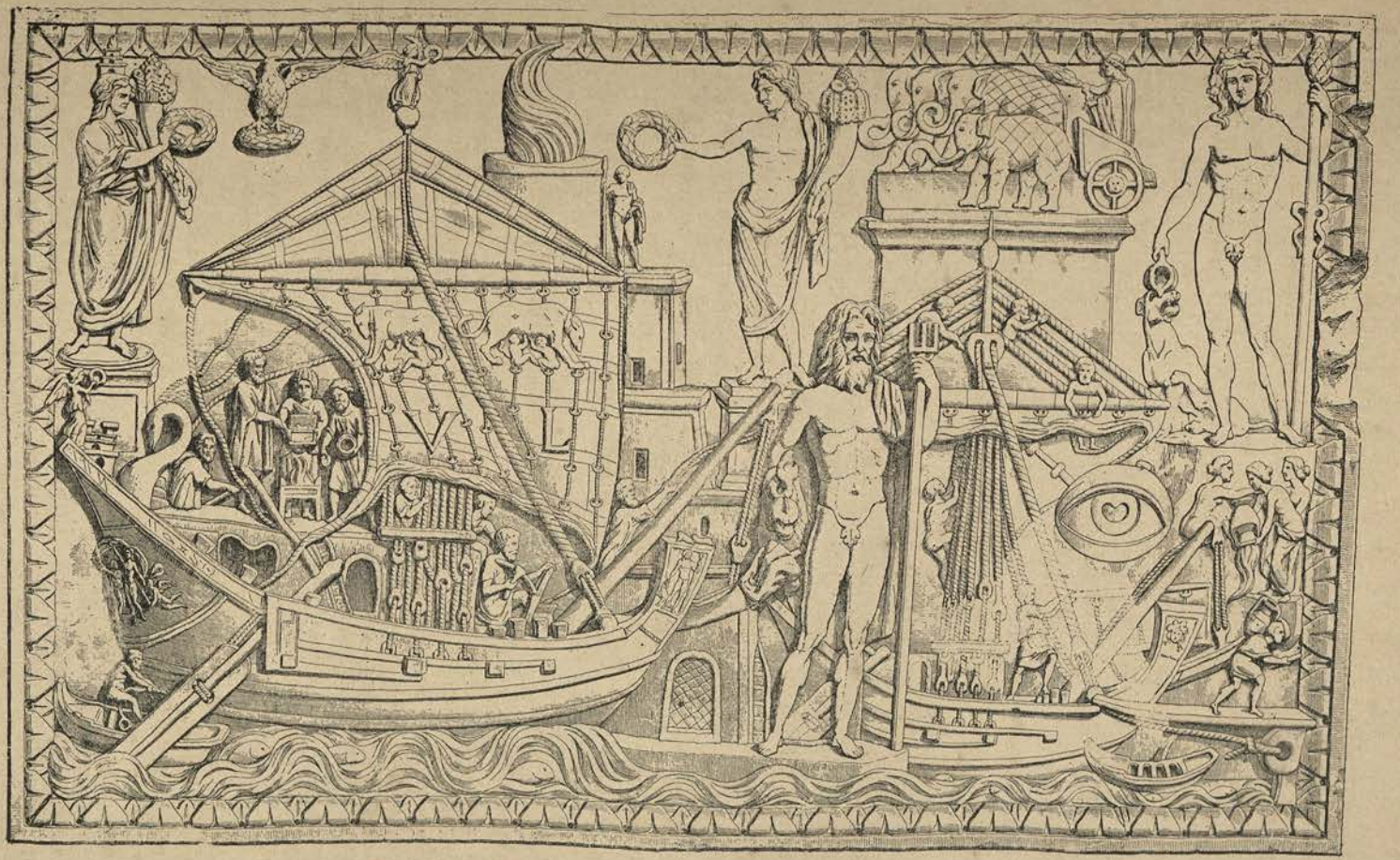
[1] See vol. iii. p. 328. Egyptian corn could not be brought down the Nile till after the inundation, which begins at the end of June or in the first days of July, attaining its mean height in the middle of the latter month and its maximum in the last ten days of September.

[2] . . . . *Gratus illarum Campaniæ aspectus est* (Sen., *Epist.*, 77).

of grain: to citizens, the benefit of the laws in respect to *bona caduca;* to matrons, the rights attributed to mothers of four children; to Latins, the citizenship, when they had for six years brought corn to Rome in a vessel carrying at least 10,000 modii.[1] The harbour was excavated, and Rome had nothing more to fear from famine; unfortunately the Tiber carries away so much of its banks that its delta grows on an average thirteen feet annually, and the harbour of Claudius is now a mile and a half from the sea.

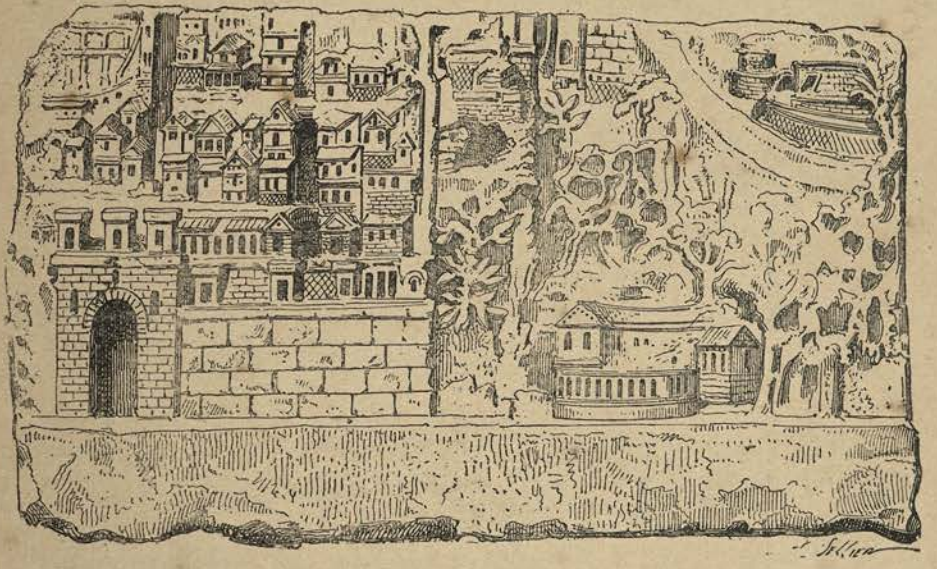
It was thought also needful to improve the navigation of the Tiber, which could be done either by deepening its bed or increasing the volume of its waters; this idea led to the reconsideration of a project presented to Augustus, namely, the draining of Lake Fucinus. This lake, which covered a surface of 39,520 acres, but whose greatest depth did not exceed sixty-five feet, had no natural outlet, hence rains and the melting of snows caused sudden freshets and disastrous inundations, during which the waters more than once rose nearly fifty feet. The Marsi had long begged to have this work executed, which would have given fertile lands to agriculture. It was now undertaken by Claudius. Constrained to abandon the original

[1] See, on next page, a bas-relief discovered in 1863 in the ruins of the portico surrounding the *emporium* of the harbour of Ostia. In the upper left-hand corner is the *Annona*, having on her head the figure of a lighthouse, and bearing a cornucopia and a crown; next the eagle, then the lighthouse itself, the Genius of the Roman people, and a quadriga of elephants; an emperor seated in the chariot, either Claudius, Nero, or Trajan, while in the right-hand corner Bacchus holds a vase which pours out gladness. Three nymphs on the pedestal of Bacchus are emptying an amphora in token that here the *vinariæ naves* should unload. Between the two vessels stands Neptune calming the waves. The ship on the right hand, already moored, is reefing its sails and discharging its cargo; upon the sail is represented the eye which during the voyage has kept off evil influences. On board the vessel on the left, which is entering the harbour, the master is offering the sacrifice of prosperous return; on the stern and the top mast are winged figures holding crowns. On the sail are represented the she-wolf and the twins, announcing, without doubt, the nationality of the vessel, and the letters VL, which indicate either the owner or the port from which she sails. Cicero says that carrying vessels were of about 2,000 amphoræ (*Fam.*, xii. 15), and Pliny (*Hist. Nat.*, vi. 22), that their capacity went as high as 3,000. The amphora was equal to nearly six gallons, weighing fifty-five pounds; the vessels of which Cicero and Pliny speak contained 12,000 or 18,000 gallons, that is, fifty-five or eighty-two tons, which is the capacity of vessels now engaged in the carrying trade in wines on the Italian coast. Cf. N. Guglielmotti, *Delle due navi romane*, 1866. For corn the vessels were larger. Those of 10,000 modii, to which Claudius granted a privilege, averaged ninety-five tons, and the advantage of making them still larger soon became apparent. Lucian (*the Ship*, 5) speaks of an Egyptian vessel bringing corn into Italy which was 180 feet long (120 cubits), forty-six feet wide, and the same in height.



Bas-relief of Ostia (Coll. Torlonia). See explanation, p. 412, note.

design of opening a communication with the Tiber, he decided to throw the waters of the lake into the Liris. For eleven years 30,000 men worked incessantly, cutting through the very hard rock and shifting beds of clay an underground channel over 18,000 feet in length, with a section averaging from eighty-six to ninety-six square feet, into which the labourers had access by thirty-two shafts, varying in depth from sixty-five to 425 feet; the same number of small slanting tunnels served for the removal of the excavated material. As this colossal work



Bas-relief found in Lake Fucinus, representing the buildings on its banks (*Revue arch.*, 1878).

approached completion, 19,000 men in twenty-four triremes gave a representation of a naval battle upon the lake. For fear this army, condemned to perish for the amusement of the people, might make some desperate attempt, another, formed of the prætorians and cavalry of the emperor's guard, lined the edge of the lake on rafts covered by a rampart, whereupon were reared *catapultæ* and *balistæ*. The combatants defiled before Claudius, crying out as they passed him, like the gladiators in the arena: *Morituri te salutamus!* "We, about to die, salute thee!" Claudius, delighted to see them so ready to bear their share in the entertainment, and not willing himself to remain behind-hand with them, responded: "I also salute you!" But at

this they throw down their arms and refuse to fight. The emperor had pronounced their pardon. And Claudius was seen in his robes, running along the edge of the lake, threatening some, persuading others, and finally deciding them to murder one another. What a state of society, what an age, when

Lake Fucinus after the completion of the engineering works.[1]

19,000 criminals could easily be brought together at one time, in one place, to die, as a public amusement! Evidently, we cannot judge these men with the rigour of our modern ideas as to the sacredness of human life.

[1] Works of the Claudian channel (*Revue archéol.*, 1878, pl. xiii. A.) Land-slips prevented this channel from working successfully, and Nero abandoned the work *successoris odio* (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxxvi. 24). A French company, in 1855, went on with the work of Claudius, giving the tunnel a section of 215 square feet. The Claudian canal, opened in 1869, and completed in 1874, by Prince Torlonia, has poured more than 1,000 million of cubic yards into the Liris, has given to agriculture the surface occupied by the former lake, 39,520 acres, and rendered healthful a whole region hitherto decimated by swamp-fevers. See upon these works and those of Claudius, an interesting paper by M. Geffroy, in the *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences morales*, July, 1878.

IV.—Provincial Administration and Wars.

The provincial administration was vigilant, as in the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius, but with more liberal views. Officials guilty of extortion were punished on complaint of the provincials, among others Cadius Rufus,[1] who was accused by the Bithynians. Claudius often repeated in the senate that a good administration of any public office was a service to himself personally. "Do not thank me," he would say to those whom he had appointed, "it is not a favour that I do you; we are sharers in the burden of Empire, and I shall be indebted to you if you fill your office well."[2]

Coin of Cadius Rufus.[3]

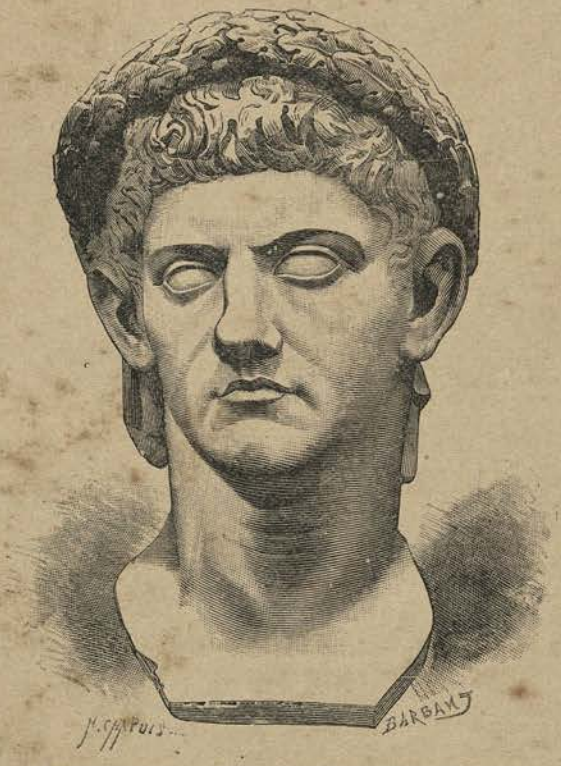
Augustus had sought to establish in the midst of the subject nations a Roman minority, which should be the point of support to the government, a minority strong enough to make order everywhere respected; and he strove by his laws to render it worthy of its mission. But, with this system, the government of the provinces was carried on only in the interest of a pacified Rome. The effort was useless, for it aimed at nothing less than to arrest the world's movement. Augustus had given the parting advice to be miserly of the citizenship; but, in the short space of thirty-four years, the number of citizens had increased by 2,000,000. At the census of the year 14 A.D. there were but 4,937,000 out of more than 21,000,000 souls; when Claudius closed the lustrum in the year 48 he announced 5,984,072 citizens, or, according to other statements, 6,944,000, representing a population of 30,000,000, an average annual increase of 260,000, or more than one per cent. a year. Even in establishing from time to time some colony, and in making here and

[1] He was condemned in the year 49 (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 22).

[2] Dion, lx. 11.

[3] Γ. ΚΑΔΙΟΣ ΡΟΥΦΟΣ ΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣ (*Cadius Rufus proconsul*). Two story edifice, on the base of which is the word ΝΕΙΚΑΙΕΩΝ. Bronze coin struck at Nicæa (*Cabinet de France*). The temple of Jupiter at Pergamos, of which so magnificent remains have lately been found, has also two stories.

there a few citizens, the emperors yielded to a necessity which they did not comprehend, and no one possessed that great art of making a force so easily produced and disciplined an element of progress and conservation. This secret of the greatness of Rome had been divined by Claudius: in the open senate, in the face of the nobles who were so prompt to forget that their laticlave hid many an Italian and many a foreigner, he called to mind, with a rare historic intelligence, how Rome had been formed; he showed that the same law of continuous extension and progressive assimilation which had made the fortune of the Republic, must be the salvation of the Empire. This question was agitated in the year 48, in consequence of a petition of the notables of Transalpine Gaul, who, being already citizens, solicited the *jus honorum*, or the right of being eligible to Roman dignities.[1] Many senators opposed this; Claudius supported it ardently, and the right of entrance to the senate was at first conceded to the Æduans; it was destined soon to extend to citizens of other allied peoples in Gaul and Spain.[2] The aristocracy never forgave the emperor,



Claudius wearing a Wreath (Bust of the Vatican, Museum *Pio-Cl.*, No. 551).

[1] As a fortune of 1,200,000 sesterces was requisite for a senator, only the rich could solicit the *jus honorum*.

[2] Vienne, he said . . . *longo jam tempore senatores huic curiæ confert*. See Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 23–25, and the fragments of the discourse of Claudius found at Lyons in 1528. [A comparison of this original document, which is now printed as an appendix to every good edition of the *Annals*, with the far more elegant composition put into the emperor's mouth by Tacitus, shows us how far the speeches in classical histories are to be trusted.—*Ed.*]

and, after his death, expressed by the mouth of Seneca their hatred of the provincials' friend. "By Hercules," says the Fate, "I desired to add a few days to his life, so that he might make citizens the few who remained to be made; for he was possessed with the idea of seeing everybody in the toga, Greeks, Gauls, Spaniards, and even Britons. But since a few foreigners should be kept for seed, let it be as thou commandest." Elsewhere Seneca reproaches Claudius with being only "a citizen of the town of Plancus, born at Lyons, sixteen miles from Vienne, a true Gaul, and, as became a Gaul, he took Rome"—took the rights and honours of Rome, that is to say, and gave them to the Transalpine nations.

In respect to the other provinces we have no definite information; without taking Seneca's spiteful exaggerations literally, one may, however, affirm that the same conduct, but in a somewhat different degree, was applied everywhere. In accordance with what the historian Josephus relates to us, Claudius was no less favourable to the Jews than to his own compatriots on the banks of the Rhone. The former, less ambitious, did not covet the honour of the laticlave, but, spread abroad as they already were throughout all the oriental provinces, they obtained for themselves in these countries, notwithstanding their turbulence at Rome, the free exercise of their customs and religion, and even an exemption from military duty. "It is right," the emperor wrote to them, "that each man live in the religion of his own country." But when they proposed to employ upon the fortifications of Jerusalem the gold sent from all parts of the Empire as offerings to the temple, Claudius put a stop to the work, which made too evident the eternal hope of this indestructible race.[1]

The gods of Greece being akin to the Capitoline divinities, Claudius proposed to reconstruct in Sicily the temple of Venus Erycina, and he strove to introduce at Rome the Eleusinian mysteries.[2] At the same time he caused a decree of the senate

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 15; Josephus, *Ant. Jud.*, xx. 1, and xix. 7.

[2] The coloured plate represents a scene of initiation. The priests of the altar of Eleusis were selected at the age of twelve or fourteen by lot from among the Eupatrids. The lad thus designated remained in charge of the altar, ἑστία. Every year, at the celebration of the Eleusinian mysteries, a new person was initiated into this office, which was regarded as a sacred

to be issued charging the pontiffs to restore to honour "the ancient wisdom of Italy," the science of the *haruspices*. This return to most ancient customs of Hellas and Latium betrays the fact that the old worship was menaced by foreign superstitions, and that the government sought to satisfy religious desires without going outside Græco-Roman traditions. One provincial body of clergy was suppressed, but this was done for political reasons rather than for any religious motive. The Druids continued their secret hostility to Rome, disturbing the emperor, who was much occupied with Romanizing Gaul. He took up the policy of Tiberius, and rigorously prosecuted those who would not yield. In 43 a knight of Narbonensis was put to death, because at the tribunal where he was party in a suit there was found upon him the druidic talisman of the serpent's egg.[1] But while Druidism was thus proscribed at Rome, Mithras,[2] the Persian sun god, made his way into the city, and a little later the Christian faith came also.

From this struggle arose another. Since Rome had come to close quarters with Druidism in Gaul, it became necessary for her to undertake its destruction in Britain also. With the skilful system of toleration inaugurated by Augustus it was not necessary to make the conquest of the British Islands. But the Druids, now subjected to an inexorable persecution, crossed the straits in crowds, and from the other shore sent back continual encouragement and stimulus to their former disciples. The island became a hot-bed of intrigues, which, for the tranquillity of Gaul, it was necessary to destroy. A fugitive explained, moreover, that this enterprise would be rendered easy by domestic quarrels among the Britons, and Claudius resolved to undertake it (43 A.D.). The legions of Lower Germany, alarmed at the idea of a war which had a bad name since Cæsar's time, refused to go.

ministry, for inscriptions show that he was ranked in the very highest class of the Eleusinian priesthood. In the illustration, copied from an amphora of Vulci in the British Museum, the initiated person, crowned with myrtle, is surrounded by his *mystagogues* or sponsors, and the hierophant or *daduchus*. Cf. *Gazette archéol.*, 1875, pp. 13 to 19, and pl. 3.

[1] Suet., *Claud.*, 25; and Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, xxix. 13: . . . . *interemptum non ab aliud sciam.* This man, wearing a talisman in court, fell under the prohibition of the decree of Tiberius.

[2] Orelli-Henzen, No. 5,844.

Sellier pinxt. Imp. Faillery Percy, chromolith.

MYSTERIES OF ELEUSIS — INITIATION

From a vase

Narcissus came from Rome to harangue them, but no sooner did the freedman show himself than the indignant soldiers began to cry out: "These are saturnalia then, where slaves are the masters!" Upon which, seizing their standards, they followed their general, and broke up the assembly.[1] Plautius separated them into three divisions for the purpose of landing more easily. The coast was not even defended. The Britons believed that they had only to harass the invaders and waste time, and the latter would be forced to retire; but Gaul, now submissive, and not in arms against the Romans as in Cæsar's time, aided in the conquest instead of rendering it impossible. Plautius patiently followed the Britons across their marshes and into the depths of their forests, dispersed their bands, pushed them as far as the Severn, and gained, on the bank of that river, a victory after a two days' battle. He then marched towards the Thames, behind which river the islanders had gathered all their forces under the command of Caractacus, a powerful and renowned leader.

Claudius with a Wreath, and wearing Armour.[2]

Coin of Claudius, with the Legend: DE BRITANNIS (bronze).

All the southern part of the island was subdued: it was the first time since the reign of Augustus that the god Terminus had really advanced. Plautius reserved for his emperor the honour of completing the conquest. Under pretext of difficulties which rendered his presence necessary the general besought Claudius to come over into Britain. The emperor did so, and crossed the Thames with his legions, who defeated the British chief and took his capital, Camulodunum (Colchester). The islanders had not the strength to resist a Roman emperor; they sued for peace, allowed themselves to be disarmed, and, at the

[1] Dion, lx. 19.

[2] *Cabinet de France* (Cameo).

end of sixteen days, Claudius returned into Gaul with the surname of Britannicus.[1]

Plautius, remaining in Britain, organized a new province there.[2] But the Roman power had not yet crossed that barrier which the Welsh mountains alway successfully opposed to invasions,[3] and the successor of Plautius, Ostorius Scapula, found himself in 50 A.D. obliged to contend against a general rising of the tribes of the west. The Druids of the island of Mona (Anglesey) rallied around the standard of independence, both political and religious, all the tribes dwelling west of the mountain ridge which traverses England from north to south. The hero of the former war, and bravest of the British chiefs, Caractacus, who had preferred exile to pardon, again held the supreme command. At the same moment the Iceni, on the south of the Humber, took up arms, and the Brigantes, a powerful tribe, occupying a region further to the north from one coast of Britain to the other, were preparing for an outbreak. The Roman province had enemies on every side; but, fortunately, there was no concerted action in this triple attack, and the Iceni, driven by the auxiliary cohorts alone from a camp they had believed impregnable, and the Brigantes, subdued by mingled gentleness and severity, returned to peace. A colony of veterans, to keep watch upon the northern tribes, was established at Camulodunum, not very far away from Gaul, so that succour could easily come to them; and Ostorius was at last able to go in search of the western tribes in the precipitous mountains of the Ordovici (the centre of Wales). Caractacus harassed the enemy for some time, but on both sides a general action was desired. The Romans accepted the battle-field chosen by the Britons, a stretch of ground sloping downwards from high hills, its approaches defended by a river with steep banks. While the fighting was at long range the islanders had the advantage, but when the legionaries under their *testudo* came close, the sword and javelins made great gaps in the ranks of the Britons,

[1] Dion, lx. 20-21. According to Suetonius, Claudius had no occasion to fight.

[2] Between the Avon and the Severn. Claudius decreed an ovation to Plautius, went to meet him outside the walls, and accompanied him, walking at his left. (Suet., *Claud.*, 24.)

[3] There have never been any Roman inscriptions found in Wales.

who had neither helmet nor cuirass. They fell in crowds; their chief, unfortunately for himself, was able to flee. He took refuge with Cartismandua, queen of the Brigantes, who gave him up to the Romans. This British Vercingetorix being taken to Rome, with his wife and daughter and his brothers, entered the city in the midst of a great festival, where the spoils taken from him were displayed; he asked for life, but without cowardice, and—a new thing at Rome—the request was granted him.[1] Later, when he had seen all the splendour of the city, he expressed his surprise at Roman ambition. "What!" he said, "you have such magnificent palaces, and you envy us our poor cabins!" (51 A.D.).

While Rome rejoiced over victories gained in Britain, the Silures continued a war of ambuscades and surprises, which cost the lives of many Roman soldiers. On one occasion they surrounded a corps left in their country to construct fortresses, and would have destroyed it had not Ostorius arrived with the entire Roman force. Another time they captured two auxiliary cohorts, and distributed the spoils and the prisoners among their neighbours, who at once murdered them on the druidic altars still standing in the island of Mona; and again a whole legion was defeated. But A. Didius, the successor of Ostorius, who had died in Britain, restored tranquillity to the province. He was not able to extend its limits, but contented himself, for the protection of the conquests of his predecessors in the south-east of the island, with throwing out a few fortified posts.[2]

The fame of these victories, gained at the extremities of the world, and over tribes whom Cæsar had not been able to subjugate, whom Augustus and Tiberius had not ventured to attack, resounded throughout the Empire. There has been lately found in Asia a monument erected by Cyzicus to Claudius, the conqueror of Britain.[3]

The legions had crossed the ocean; they also crossed the Rhine. As early as the first year of the reign of Claudius

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 31.

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 39-40, and *Agric.*, 14.

[3] *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions*, 1876 and 1877 (note by M. Mowat).

the Catti, the Marsi, and the Chauci had been conquered, and the last of the eagles of Varus recovered. So that to this reign belongs the glory of having plucked from the barbarians, after fifty years, their last trophy; for all that, the memory of the great defeat still commanded prudence in this direction.[1] Britain was only an island, whose further shores the Roman eagles had seen; Germany was the beginning of a world of barbarians of which no man knew the limits. It was said at Rome, that to gain a province there was only to take a drop out of the ocean; that it was better to stop at the natural limit made by the Rhine, and thence to endeavour to break up the German confederations, to divide the tribes, to bring the chiefs into the interest of Rome. This policy of Augustus and Tiberius was also that of Claudius, and its success was manifest when the Cherusci asked Rome to give them as their king a nephew of Arminius, born at Rome, and all his life a resident of the city, bearing even the significant name of Italicus (47 A.D.). Low as this nation had fallen since its defeat, it soon became unwilling to obey an agent of the emperor. Italicus was expelled, but the Langobardi, doubtless gained by Roman gold, restored him, and the proscribed patriots of the Cherusci went to make common cause with the Chauci and Catti, the only German nations who still dared to look a Roman in the face. The former harassed at intervals the troops of Upper Germany; the latter, led by a Roman deserter, ravaged the Gallic coasts from their flotillas, while the inhabitants, enervated by peace and prosperity, submitted to their incursions, quite unable to defend themselves against the German marauders.[2] But a great general had appeared in Lower Germany, Corbulo, who by his severity recalled the old days of the Roman Republic. He found the legions enervated by long idleness; an inexorable discipline and incessant labour restored to them the aspect of the ancient legions. He was soon known by the neighbouring tribes, and the Frisii, who had been free for nineteen years, consented without resistance to receive laws and magistrates

[1] Dion, lx. 670; Suet., *Claud.*, 24.
[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 16-17. *Dites et imbelles* (*ibid.*, 18).

from him, and to observe the limits which he prescribed for them. A fort was built to keep them under control. Corbulo also proposed to reach the Chauci in the rear of the Frisii, and his vessels would have put a stop to the piracies of the former, as his soldiers were already threatening their frontiers, when an order from the emperor arrested him. Returning across the Rhine with the Roman eagles which he had hoped to lead to conquest, he allowed himself only to say: "Fortunate were the Roman generals of the past!" This much-admired expression, was, however, only the ambitious cry of a republican, who regretted the time when generals despised the powerless displeasure of a feeble government, and at their own will plunged Rome into new wars (47 A.D.). To keep his soldiers employed, however, Corbulo caused them to dig a canal, eleven miles in length, between the Rhine and the Meuse, to prevent the inundation of the country by the high tides. Claudius recompensed him for this with the insignia of the triumph. His successor, Curtius Rufus, obtained the same honour for having opened in the territory of the Mattiaci a silver mine, the produce of which was of little value and lasted only for a short time. Mattium was more than 120 miles distant from the Rhine; it is evident that this system of armed peace had placed under Roman influence the territory lying beyond the Rhine to a considerable distance from the river.

Corbulo (*Icon. rom.*, pl. 9).

Still another inference may be drawn from these facts: if the imperial government was reluctant to have the legions acquire military fame, it offered them another kind of renown, the credit

of great works of public utility. We see Corbulo digging a canal, Rufus opening a mine, and the army of Upper Germany continuing the immense entrenchments of the *agri decumates*. Soon after this, Paulinus finished the highway commenced by Drusus along the Rhine, and Vetus opened navigable communication between the Saône and the Moselle, that is to say, between the Rhone and the Rhine, between the Mediterranean and the German Ocean. In Spain and the Danubian provinces there is building of bridges and aqueducts and roads by the Roman legions; in Asia Minor there is opening or improving of harbours.[1] Everywhere the leisure secured them by a wise policy is usefully employed.[2] Tacitus should have comprehended these grand fruits of peace too well to have made favourable mention in his grave history of the anonymous letters wherein the emperor was implored, in the name of the armies, to grant in advance to their generals the honours of the triumph, so that the latter might no longer seek to obtain them by subjecting their troops to such severe labours.

Tacitus also sees only a gratification of vanity to the empress in the sending of a colony of veterans to the Ubii, whose city, Agrippina's birth-place, from that time took the name of *Colonia Agrippina* (50 A.D.); but the Empire had need of a strong Roman position on the Lower Rhine, and the site was so well chosen that, to this day, Cologne has remained one of the great cities of Germany. The Romans themselves during the war of Civilis, not long after, had cause to recognize the wisdom of this measure.

In Upper Germany the emperor contented himself with again repulsing the Catti, without attempting to subjugate them. The honour of this expedition belongs entirely to the Gallic cohorts of the Nemetes and Vangiones, who surprised the enemy and delivered a few soldiers of the army of Varus, captives among the Catti for forty years. Pomponius, camping with his legions near the Taunus, awaited the Catti there, in the hope that

[1] *Soranus . . . . Asiæ proconsul . . . . portui Ephesiorum aperiendo curam insumpserat.* In the year 65. (Tac., *Ann.*, xvi. 23.)

[2] *Plures per provincias similia* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 20). Probably, in Syria, for example, where Tacitus extols the efforts of Cassius to re-establish the ancient discipline: *revocare priscum morem, exercitare legiones*, etc. (*Ibid.*, xii. 12.)

Roman Aqueduct at Segovia.

they would pursue his cohorts to the camp. But the fear of being attacked in the rear by the Cherusci, now faithful to the Romans, stopped them, and it was only deputies and hostages who came to solicit peace (50 A.D.). The Frisii being reduced to a demi-servitude, the Chauci held in subjection, the Cherusci disabled, and the Catti humiliated,[1] Claudius had the right to coin a triumphal coin with the legend *de Germanis*.

Triumphal Coin of Claudius, with the Legend DE GERMANIS (silver).

In the south the king given by Drusus thirty years before to the Suevi of Moravia, Vannius, threatened by a revolt, had implored the succour of the legions: Claudius left the barbarians to settle their quarrel among themselves; but the troops gathered on the other side of the Danube, and stood ready to oblige both parties to respect the territory of the Empire. This conduct was successful. The dispossessed king was received with his followers into Pannonia, and the two victorious chiefs who divided his kingdom themselves solicited the emperor's friendship (50 A.D.).

The tranquillity of the regions on the right bank of the Danube is attested by the very silence of the historians; an event of some importance, however, occurred in the extreme east of these provinces. Rhemetalces, whom Caligula had made sole king of the whole of Thrace, having been killed by his wife, his former subjects revolted, and Claudius, taking advantage of the opportunity, reduced the kingdom to a province (about 46 A.D.); twenty years later Agrippa said to the Jews: "Two thousand Roman soldiers are enough to guard Thrace."[2] Byzantium had furnished assistance on this occasion, and again in the war made upon the king of the Bosphorus (49 A.D.); in recompense for which services she obtained an exemption from tribute for five years.[3]

This king of the Bosphorus, a descendant of the great Mithridates, and bearing his name, owed the crown to Claudius.[4] The

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 27-8 and 29-30: *Egregia adversus nos fide.*

[2] Josephus, *Bell. Jud.*, ii. 28.

[3] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 63. The same favour was granted to Apamea, ruined by an earthquake; Rhodes was again free, and Bologna, destroyed by fire, received a gratuity of 10,000,000 sesterces. (*Ibid.*, xii. 58.) Cos, in honour of its god Æsculapius, was enfranchised from all tribute. (*Ibid.*, 61; cf. Dion, lx. 24.)

[4] See vol. iii. p. 624. Cf. Casy, *Hist. des rois du Bosphore.* Among the Alps, Claudius

emperor, shortly after his accession, had made a new distribution of the vassal kingdoms. He restored to Antiochus Commagene, which Caligula had first given him and then taken from him; set at liberty the Iberian Mithridates, whom Caligula had thrown into prison; augmented the territory of the Jew Agrippa, and erected Chalcidice into a kingdom for Herod, the brother of Agrippa; and he had ceded to Polemon some districts of Cilicia in exchange for the Bosphorus, transferred to another Mithridates. This new king, who was ambitious and turbulent like his renowned ancestor, seeking to increase his own power at the expense of his neighbours, was deposed by Claudius who gave the throne to his brother Cotys. Mithridates made an attempt to involve in his cause other nations in this region, persuading some and attacking others, and finally drew upon them a Roman expedition. The wretched towns of the allies of Mithridates were easily taken, and were treated with great severity. One of them offered 10,000 slaves to redeem itself, but slaves and masters alike were slain. Mithridates delivered himself up, and when he appeared before the emperor he said to him haughtily, "No man has brought me hither. I came of my own will. If you doubt it, let me go, and see whether you can find me."[1] (49 A.D.)

Sauromates, King of Pontus and the Bosphorus.

Mithridates, King of the Bosphorus (bronze).

Gotarzes (Arsaces XXI.) (silver coin).

Claudius had given his liberty to the Iberian Mithridates in order that he might regain possession of Armenia. The dissensions among the Parthians rendered this enterprise facile. This unfortunate people had fallen back, after the death of Artabanus II. (44 A.D.), into their habitual anarchy. Vardanes and his nephew Gotarzes disputed for the crown, by turns defeated and victorious. For the third time they were about to make war upon each other, in Bactriana, at the extremity of the empire, when suddenly Mithridates

augmented the little territory of Cottius, and gave the title of king to this mountain chief. (Dion, lx. 24.)

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 21.

entered Armenia with Roman troops, who took the cities, while the Iberians ravaged the open country. Vardanes remaining finally sole master of the empire, reduced Seleucia, which the Parthians had held in a state of siege for seven years, and made his preparations to invade Armenia. The governor of Syria, Marsus, threatened Vardanes that if the latter crossed the frontier he himself would cross the Euphrates. New catastrophes prevented this war. Vardanes was killed by some of the Parthian nobles during a hunting party and Gotarzes returned; but the nobility despatched a secret messenger to Claudius to ask from him as king Meherbates, son of that Vonones who was the candidate presented by Augustus and Tiberius to the Parthian throne. The emperor hastened to grant this petition, calling the senate's notice to the fact that, like Augustus, he had had the glory of reconquering Armenia and giving a king to the Parthians.[1] But instead of pushing the enterprise with energy, Meherbates preferred to enjoy his fragile royalty; the zeal of his partisans abated; he was conquered and taken prisoner (49 A.D.). Gotarzes cut off his ears, and, after this humiliation, suffered him to live. Gotarzes himself died almost immediately after this, and the sceptre passed to his son Vonones, who lived but a few months (50 or 51 A.D.). The not inglorious reign of Vologeses, his successor, lasted thirty years.

Meherbates, son of Vonones.

Vologeses I. (Arsaces XXIII.).

Claudius was premature in boasting that he had equalled in the East the fortune of Augustus. His *protégé* in Parthia was a disgraced fugitive; his candidate on the Armenian throne, still more unfortunate, was overthrown by a nephew, Rhadamistus, whom he had loaded with benefits, and who now murdered him with his wife and children, causing them to be smothered, not to violate the oath he had taken to his uncle that he would neither by sword nor poison attempt the life of the latter. Habituated as men were in the East to crimes in royal houses, this perfidy excited indignation. Vologeses thought it a favourable occasion to recover

[1] Tac., *Ann.*. xii. 8–10.

Armenia for his brother Tiridates. All the cities opened their gates to him, but winter and a contagious disorder drove him away. Rhadamistus, returning from Iberia, put to death with unsparing hand those whom he called rebels. They revolted against

Claudius (Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 12).

him, invested his palace, and the king owed his safety only to his horse's speed. His wife, Zenobia, some months advanced in pregnancy, accompanied him. Not to retard her husband's flight, she bade him kill her; he struck her with his sword and she was thrown into the Araxes for dead. The blow, however, was not

mortal; some shepherds rescued her and she was taken to Tiridates, who treated her as a queen. The Roman influence in Armenia was lost until Corbulo, at the beginning of the reign of Nero, restored it.

In Lycia some Romans had been killed, and this small state was in great disorder; Claudius deprived it of a liberty which it had misused, and the country was united to Pamphylia.[1] Elsewhere we shall take up the affairs of Palestine, only saying now that at the death of Agrippa, in 44 A.D., Claudius, who considered this king's son too young to succeed him, had again united Judæa to the province of Syria.

To conclude the story of the few events in provincial history during this reign which have come down to us, we will refer to the successes of Suetonius Paulinus in Mauretania at the beginning of the reign of Claudius. This general crossed the Atlas, the peaks of which he found covered with snow, and penetrated through a scorching country to Tafilet.[2] His successor, Geta, narrowly escaped perishing from thirst with his entire army. The unexpected discovery of a spring saved them, and a decisive victory over the Mauri gave him an opportunity to make of the country two provinces, separated by the Mulucha: Mauretania Tingitana and Mauretania Cæsariensis, into which numerous colonies carried the language and manners of Rome.[3] These conquests gave Claudius the honour which Sylla and Augustus obtained, of extending the *pomœrium*.

To this or the subsequent reign belong the bold explorations spoken of by the geographer Ptolemy, which were pushed, by Julius Maternus, into the interior of Africa as far as the country of Agysimba, "the land of the rhinoceros," and by Septimius Flaccus, into the land of the Ethiopians three months' march beyond the Garama. Pliny relates (vi. 24) that a freedman of the farmer of the imperial customs on the Red Sea, having doubled Arabia, was driven by gales as far as the island of Taprobane, where he remained six months, learning the language of the country, and on his return brought with him four ambassadors,

[1] Dion, lx. 17.

[2] Pliny, *Hist. Nat.*, v. 1. Cf. Walkenaer, *Recherc. géogr. sur l'intérieur de l'Afrique sept.*, p. 370.

[3] Dion, lx. 9. They were governed by procurators. (Tac., *Hist.*, i. 11.)

who gave to Claudius curious information concerning their island, its inhabitants, and their commerce with the Seres (Chinese).

This reign was not lacking, therefore, in military and political renown. Mauretania and half of Britain conquered; the Germans held in check, humiliated, and deprived of the last trophies of their former victories; the kingdom of the Bosphorus held in subjection; Thrace and Judæa reduced to provinces,[1] and the dissensions among the Parthians for a long time kept up; at home, certain wise laws, useful works, and an increasing prosperity;[2] in the armies, discipline and an activity employed in promoting the public welfare, under the command of officers who had grown old in their positions;[3] lastly, remote embassies renewing the curious spectacle which, under Augustus, had so flattered Roman vanity. Surely in these facts, these results, there was enough to satisfy the pride of a ruler more exacting in that regard than Claudius ever was. We must now, however, direct our attention again to Rome, there to witness the death agony of the Roman aristocracy, and to see what an example is offered to the world by the imperial household. The lessons taught in the palace penetrate far and wide; Messalina had rivals among the Roman matrons, and Locusta did not exert her skill for Agrippina only.

[1] Ituræa was also, like Judæa, united to Syria after the death of its king, Sohemes, 49 A.D. (Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 23.)

[2] In the year 49 there was, however, a great famine in Greece, corn being sold at six drachmas the bushel, perhaps even at twelve, and the following year there was a riot in Rome on account of the price of corn. Claudius was pursued by outcries and threats in the streets, but took prompt measures to bring back abundance. (Euseb., *Chron. ad Ann.*; Suet., *Claud.*, 18; Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 43.)

[3] The appointments made by Claudius are praised by Tacitus. See, on Cassius, *Ann.*, xii. 12, and on Corbulo, xi. 20. We may also mention Ostorius, *ducem haud spernendum* (*ibid.*, 39); Suetonius Paulinus, the conquerer of Britain and Mauretania, under whom Vespasian made his first campaigns; Burrus, the prætorian prefect; Galba, who commanded successfully in Aquitania, Germany, and Mauretania: *Africam moderate . . . . Hispaniam pari justitia continuit* (*Hist.*, i. 49); Vinius *qui Galliam Narbonensem severe integreque rexit* (*ibid.*, 48). Vitellius even merits this eulogy from Suetonius: *in provincia* (*Africa*) *singularem innocentiam præstitit biennio continuato* (*Vitell.*, 5).

V.—Messalina.

Vice and the public executioner had so decimated the Roman nobility that Claudius was obliged to make new patricians in the same year (48) that he admitted the provincial aristocracy to the senate. The one replaced the other, the world's instead of the city's notables filled the senate, a sure token that provincial emperors would soon appear. The *gentes* created by Cæsar and Augustus were already extinct,[1] and but few were left of the fifty "Trojan houses" enumerated by Dionysius of Halicarnassus under the first emperor. Claudius himself had aided in reducing this number: during his reign perished thirty-five senators and more than 300 knights—many victims to the shameful passions or the avidity of Messalina; some carried off by the suicide which men without beliefs and without useful employment of life[2] esteem the last resource of an existence worn out by pleasure and by fear; but the larger number condemned in consequence of imprudent plots or accused of crimes. The unsuccessful attempt made after the death of Caius was still fresh in men's minds, and it was believed possible to repeat it; even after the time of Nero there were republicans in Rome, for the insane conduct of the new emperors revived the regret of many for that form of government which had conquered the world. More numerous yet were those who, seeing so strange a figure in the chief place, believed it easy to dethrone a ruler of whom his mother said that he was a mistake of nature—a man begun and not completed.

On one occasion an armed assassin came as far as the bed where the emperor lay; twice his life was attempted in public, once, at the exit of a theatre, and again during a sacrifice.[3] A

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 25.

[2] We have already seen with what readiness men took their own lives in the reign of Tiberius. Dion (lx. 11) relates that Claudius compelled the knights to come to the senate house whenever they were summoned. One day he so severely reprimanded certain who had disobeyed this order that they killed themselves.

[3] Suetonius (*Claud.*, 13) and Dion (lx. 15) believe in the reality of all these conspiracies. Tacitus speaks of a knight discovered with a dagger among the persons who came to salute the prince (*Ann.* xi. 22), and Dion (lx. 18) of another, doubtless the one whom Otho, governor of Dalmatia, denounced, and whom the consuls and tribunes threw down

grandson of Pollio and a grandson of Messala attempted a revolution,[1] and obtained the complicity of persons attached to the imperial household. Pomponius began a civil war, and Scribonianus incited the army of Dalmatia, promising the soldiers to re-establish the Republic, while Vinicianus, one of the candidates for the imperial power after the murder of Caligula, together with a prætor and a number of senators, prepared an insurrectionary movement at Rome. Scribonianus, being proclaimed emperor, wrote to Claudius a letter full of violent reproaches, ordering him to retire into private life, whence he ought never to have emerged. The timid emperor would have willingly obeyed, but the respect of the legions for the family of the Cæsars saved him. Alarmed by an unfavourable omen, the rebels refused to march upon Rome, and the first emperor who had risen out of the *castra stativa* was put to death after a reign of five days. His wife denounced his accomplices, and all who could not buy the favour of Messalina and the freedmen perished. In spite of the recent laws, information given by slaves against their masters was received, and senators were subjected to torture. Children were spared, but most of the wives shared their husbands' fate. One of these distinguished herself: Arria, wife of the ex-consul Pætus. She followed her husband to Rome, and when she saw

Claudius and Messalina as Triptolemus and Ceres (Cameo).

from the Tarpeian rock. Tacitus also speaks of the persuasions of Silius, designated consul, addressed to Messalina, that she should kill the emperor (*ibid.*, 26). This would make nine or ten plots, if the accounts are accurate.

[1] Tacitus (*Ann.*, xiii. 43) says merely these words.

him condemned, instead of imploring Messalina, who was her friend, to spare her life, she plunged a dagger into her breast, and withdrawing the weapon, handed it to Pætus, saying: "Take it, it does not hurt."[1] Vinicianus and many others killed themselves. In singular contrast to the effeminacy of their lives, these degenerate Romans sought in their last hour to prove themselves worthy of their heroic fathers. When Valerius Asiaticus, after a pathetic defence, had obtained from Claudius only the choice of the mode of death, he at once became calm, since he had no longer to plead for his life, bathed, and gave a great feast, at which he showed much gaiety. Rising from table, before opening his veins, he went out to look at his funeral pile erected in his garden; finding it too near his trees, he caused it to be removed to another place, not to endanger their magnificent foliage. To die well was the sole point of honour left to these Romans, and Messalina gave frequent occasion for its exhibition.

Messalina.[2]

Claudius was not a man to retain the affection of his wife. He had been twice married before his accession to the Empire: first to Pætina, whom he presently repudiated, then to Urgulanilla, by whom he had a daughter Claudia, and from whom he was divorced on account of her disreputable life and also from a

[1] Pliny, *Epist.*, iii. 16.

[2] Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 13.

suspicion that she designed his murder. Messalina, his third wife, was great-granddaughter to the excellent Octavia, the sister of Augustus, but inherited rather the faults of Antony than the virtues of her ancestress. Her mother, Domitia Lepida, had set her an example of irregular conduct, and she was already publicly disgraced when Claudius married her. It seems probable that she suffered from one of those maladies which overpower the conscience and lead to all forms of immorality.[1]

Messalina.[2]

With this dissolute woman we come, for the first time in the West, upon the life of oriental courts: a mixture of plots and punishments, and monstrous profligacy. The oriental despotism which was now established on the Palatine brought with it the manners of Alexandria and Ctesiphon: female rivalries, the influence of the freedmen, and conspiracies in the palace. From the beginning Rome surpassed the most famous scandals. Till this day history has had but one Messalina, and Juvenal still pursues the imperial courtesan with the cutting lash of his indignant verse. A few years later another empress poisoned her husband; an emperor murdered his mother, his brother, and his wife; and all follies, all vices, and all forms of cruelty were let loose upon this trembling and rotten society.

History would cease to concern itself with the debauchery of Messalina if this conspicuous scandal had not encouraged

[1] She was an extremely vicious woman, but doubtless unsound in health. She was twenty-four years of age when she died. M. Ménière, in a curious book entitled *Études médicales sur les poëtes latins*, believes Messalina to have been a victim of nymphomania. "At the Salpétrière," he says, "there are Messalinas, cases which have absolutely nothing to do with morals."

[2] Cameo in the *Cabinet de France*, No. 228. The bust of Messalina, wearing a wreath of laurel, rises above a cornucopia, from which emerges a child's head, no doubt that of Britannicus. Rome, helmeted, is in front of the empress. Rubens, who admired this cameo, has made a drawing of it preserved in his work. Cf. Chabouillet, *Catalogue général*, etc., p. 38.

others, and if cruelty had not been mingled with her orgies. Her step-father, Silanus, dared to disdain her advances; she accused him of a plot, and the accusation was confirmed by Narcissus, because a dream revealed it to him, and without further inquiry Silanus was put to death. The senator Vinicius, rendering himself guilty of the same contempt towards the empress, was poisoned at her instigation. Asiaticus died in consequence of his great wealth: he had still further embellished the gardens of Lucullus; Messalina desired to have them, and Claudius put the owner to death. Julia, the daughter of Germanicus, seemed to inspire her uncle with too strong an affection, and by her pride wounded the empress; the latter invoked morals, talked of adultery, and Julia, sent into exile, quickly found the assassin's dagger. Seneca, wit and moralist, whose conduct, unhappily, was rarely in accordance with his writings, had the confidence of Julia, and for that crime was banished to Corsica, where he remained eight years.[1] Another Julia, also a niece of the emperor, had the same fate. Poppæa disputed with her about the dancer Mnester, and she accused her of adultery, drove her to suicide, while the player received from the emperor himself the order to obey Messalina in all points. We should require the licence of the Latin tongue to tell of the misconduct of the empress, and her shameful orgies both in the depths of the palace[2] or by night in the streets of Rome.

The emperor shut his eyes to everything; Justus Catonius, showing some indignation and threatening to inform the emperor, was at once put to death. The weak affection of Claudius for the mother of his children, Britannicus and Octavia, the connivance of the freedmen, and the certainty that any indiscreet revelation would be punished by death, secured impunity and encouraged more audacity. Messalina even essayed to legalize crime and render prostitution legitimate, that she might add one more

[1] One of Seneca's enemies accused him of being Julia's accomplice: . . . *domus Germanici adulterum* (Tac., *Ann.*, xiii. 42).

[2] Dion, lx. 18. In regard to these disorder, cf. Sen., *de Benef.*, iii. 16: "Women count the years, not by the number of consuls, but of husbands . . . . They take a husband only to make a lover jealous. To be chaste merely proves a woman unattractive, and most repulsive must she be who contents herself with but a couple of lovers."

delight to her profligacy—that of vice making a jest of the law and scoffing at the last remains of public morality. If we are to believe the story which Tacitus tell us (but of which Josephus makes no mention),[1] she formed the idea of marrying according to the usual forms, Silius, one of her lovers. Their union is said to have been announced in advance, recorded in authentic acts, consecrated by the prayers of augurs, by religious ceremonies, by a sacrifice and a solemn feast. Claudius, alarmed by omens menacing to Messalina's husband, is said to have himself signed the contract, in order to turn away the evils impending over him.[2]

Messalina and Britannicus (Museum of the Louvre).[3]

To the empress, this outrageous parody of ordinary rites was intended to give new zest to her profligacy. Silius bore his part in it with the idea that the comedy would end in tragic fashion, with the disappearance of the ruler as well as of the husband. As for the old man himself, timid and credulous, he doubtless assured himself with the formalistic spirit of the early days, or else he had

[1] Josephus says only that Claudius προαναιρήκει Μεσσαλίναν διὰ ζηλοτυπίαν (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8).

[2] *Ad avertendum transferendumque periculum, quod imminere ipsi per quædam ostenta portenderetur* (Suet., *Claud.*, 29).

[3] Group, in Pentelic marble, found near Rome, outside of the gate San Lorenzo. Messalina, wearing the *stola* and the *palla*, holds in her arms the young Cæsar, represented with the features of the infant Jupiter, in allusion to his lofty destinies. (Clarac, *Descript.*, No. 183.)

been persuaded by the others that destiny would be satisfied by a marriage accomplished according to legal formulas, and going no further than that.[1] Accordingly, it is not to be doubted that he reserved to himself as compensation, after having saved the emperor, to complete the oracle by avenging the husband and what we should call his honour, had not such a sentiment been unknown to the Romans of that time, and, most of all, to Claudius.

The freedmen of the imperial household, from the first rendered uneasy by this strange adventure, began to be alarmed when they saw Messalina despoil the palace in order to adorn the dwelling of Silius, and heap upon her new husband all the emperor's treasures. Young and bold, Silius would not allow himself to be led as their imbecile patron had done, and, related as he was to the noblest families, and at the moment invested with the consulship, he was formidable. What he had just dared to do showed his ambition; evidently he would not stop in the dangerous position he had taken; already he was urging Messalina to rid herself of Claudius. Callistus and Pallas hesitated, however, to brave the wrath of the empress; they remembered Polybus, whom she had sacrificed,[2] although he had been one of her lovers. Narcissus was more resolute: he revealed all to Claudius, who was at this time at Ostia, superintending the arrangements for provisioning the city. "Do you know," he said to the emperor, "that you are repudiated? Silius has the people, the senate, and the army on his side; if you delay a moment Rome will be in his power." Claudius, at these words, which certain of the senators confirmed, fell into his wonted terror: he believed Silius already proclaimed, and begged those around him to tell him whether he was still emperor. But Narcissus felt that he had staked his life, and that he must go on to the end or perish; and he brought his master to Rome.

[1] It was probably thus that Messalina proposed to defend herself when she besought the emperor to listen to her, and the first vestal was indignant that she had been condemned unheard, *indefensa* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 34). In the *Apokolokyntosis*, the accusation incessantly repeated is, that Claudius condemned Messalina without giving her the opportunity to defend herself. It is noteworthy that Seneca, exiled by Messalina, and writing in the time of her rival, is not so severe against her as are Tacitus, Suetonius, Juvenal, and Dion; but Pliny, with a word (x. 83) goes further than all of them.

[2] Dion, lx. 31.

It was in autumn; Messalina in her palace was enacting a vintage scene: men were treading the grapes, and the wine flowed into the casks; women, wearing deerskins, like bacchantes, were dancing around them, and Messalina, with streaming hair, a thyrsus in her hand, accompanied by Silius crowned with ivy, joined in the dances. One of their companions in the revel climbed a tree, no doubt to represent some divinity hidden in the foliage.

Vintage or Bacchanalian Scene (Bas-relief in the Museum of Naples).

"What do you see up there?" some one cried. "I see," he said, "a storm approaching from Ostia."

The storm, whether it came from heaven or earth, was approaching.[1] Rumours are at first spread abroad that Claudius is coming in great displeasure, and shortly couriers announce him. The feast is broken up, for these debauchees have made no preparations for resistance. Messalina takes refuge in the gardens of Lucullus; Silius goes to the Forum, ostensibly to attend to the duties of his office; others run hither and thither; but centurions are already on their track, and seize them in the streets, or

[1] *Sive ceperat ea species seu forte lapsa vox in præsagium vertit* (Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 31).

where they conceal themselves. After a few moments of anxiety the empress recovered her assurance. She directed her children, Octavia and Britannicus, to go and meet their father; she implored Vibidia, the chief vestal, to go to the pontifex maximus and beseech his clemency; she, herself, followed by three persons, who alone of all the court had not abandoned her, crossed the whole width of the city on foot, mounted into one of those carts used to carry away garden refuse, and took the road to Ostia.

Pontifex Maximus (Bronze of the *Cabinet de France*, No. 3,572).

If the emperor had been alone she would have saved herself. But Narcissus, not to leave him alone for a moment, was in the chariot, and his two friends, Cæcina and Vitellius, accompanied him. The latter, a servile courtier, waited until his prince had spoken, and Claudius spoke in a most confusing fashion, sometimes incensed against Messalina, sometimes mollified at the remembrance of their children. And so Vitellius could say nothing but "O crime! O penalty!" nor was Narcissus able to extract from him any other words.

Meanwhile Messalina approached, crying out that she was the mother of Octavia and Britannicus, and that the emperor must hear her defence. Narcissus drowned her voice, reminding the emperor of Silius and the marriage; but he was careful to urge on the charioteer, and to occupy the emperor's eyes he placed

before him a statement of the orgies of Messalina. At the gates of Rome the children were waiting for the emperor; but they were sent away. Vibidia, however, made her way into the emperor's presence, and urged upon him the odiousness of giving up a wife to death without allowing her to plead her cause. Narcissus rejoined that Claudius would hear Messalina, that she should have the opportunity to vindicate herself; and he advised the vestal to return to her sacred duties.

The freedman conducted Claudius to the house of Silius, and exhibited to the emperor the wealth of the Neros and the Drusi, now the reward of adultery. At this sight Claudius was at last aroused and his anger broke forth; he allowed himself to be led to the camp of the prætorians, harangued them, and made them judges of the accused. Silius, on being brought before them, made no attempt to defend himself, and bade them kill him at once. Many Roman knights of illustrious lineage showed the same firmness. The prefect of the night-watch, the superintendent of games, and a senator were also put to death. A wretched actor, Mnester, involved in this tragedy, hoped for a moment to save his life, "making mention of the express command by which Claudius himself had subjected him to the will of Messalina; it was not," he said, "as in the case of the others, either interest or ambition which had made him guilty, and he would have been the first to perish had the Empire fallen into the hands of Silius." The freedmen rejoined that after having sacrificed such illustrious victims they could not save the life of a mere play-actor; and that, voluntary or not, the crime was equally heinous. The prætorians would not even accept the justification urged by Montanus, a young Roman knight of virtuous life but extreme beauty, that although he had been summoned to the empress, she had at once, capricious in her dislikes as in her fancies, driven him away.

While these executions were going on, Messalina, in the gardens of Lucullus, was making ready a petition, not without some hope remaining, and even with occasional bursts of anger, so much pride still remained to her in this extreme danger. If Narcissus had not hastened her death that fate would have overtaken himself. The emperor had returned into the palace, and, soothed by a delicious repast, which had been served earlier

than usual, he was recovering from his anger. "Send word to the unhappy Messalina," he said, "to come to-morrow and justify herself." Narcissus perceived that he was lost if all was not over before night; he went out abruptly and signified to the centurions and tribune of the guard to go and kill Messalina, a freedman Evodus being directed to superintend the execution.

Messalina as Hygieia.[1]

Evodus hastened to the gardens, where Messalina lay extended on the ground, her mother Lepida beside her, the latter exhorting the fallen empress to make her death honourable by herself striking the fatal blow. But this depraved soul was destitute of energy; she abandoned herself to tears and vain lamentations, when suddenly, the gates were thrown violently open, and the soldiers appeared, the tribune silent at their head: the freedman, with all a slave's baseness, lavishing insults upon Messalina. The empress, for the first time convinced that she must die, accepted the proffered dagger, with trembling hand she held it towards her breast and her throat, but dared not strike, and finally the tribune despatched her with a thrust of his sword. Claudius still sat at table when word was brought him that Messalina was dead, no particulars being given as to the manner in which she had perished. Claudius made no inquiry on the subject, but directly called for wine, and finished his repast

[1] Statue of the Vatican (Museum Chiaramonti, No. 682).

composedly. On the subsequent days he manifested the same indifference; he saw, without a sign of anger or of sadness, the joy of her accusers and her children's grief. The senate voted that the statues of Messalina should be thrown down, and they decreed to her murderer the insignia of the quæstorship.[1]

We have given nearly as much space to this story of a wanton's death as to that of the great victims of the Republic; and for the reason that this contrast illustrates the two epochs: these tragedies of the seraglio are now a part of the history of the Roman people.

Claudius had sworn to the assembled prætorians "to remain single, since marriage had proved so unfortunate to him, and to allow himself to be slain by them if he should violate this oath." This, however, was not satisfactory to the freedmen, who, to remain masters in the imperial household, wished to make an empress, and at once busied themselves in arranging a fourth marriage for the emperor. Each supported rival claimants. Narcissus recommended Pætina, the divorced wife of the emperor; Callistus, the rich and beautiful Lollia Paulina, whom Caligula had divorced; Pallas, a daughter of Germanicus, Agrippina. The latter, to whom her mother had bequeathed her imperious spirit and her ambition, was the widow of Domitius Ahenobarbus, who had left her a son, now eleven years of age.[2] Although beautiful, she had nothing of the woman in her character, but everything of the selfishly ambitious man; the long perseverance, the cold calculation, and, at the fitting moment, the implacable resolution—implacable and remorseless. It was her determination to be empress, and that her son should be emperor; and to this end it was necessary to marry Claudius. He was, however, her uncle, and the Roman law forbade marriage between persons so near of kin. A senatus-consultum removed this obstacle, and a knight set the example of such a marriage. Immediately upon her marriage, Agrippina sought to take the command. Claudius, who knew how to preserve peace in the Empire, could never command it around him,

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xi. 32–38.

[2] Suetonius (*Nero*, 6) accuses her of having poisoned her second husband, Crispus Passienus, in order to obtain possession of his property. Nero was born December 15, 37 A.D.

for though he was capable of correct ideas he was entirely unsuited to govern men. The freedmen and the empress disputed for the possession of the old man; the latter obtained it.

The freedmen were greatly at a disadvantage in the struggle with her. The fear lest Octavia and Britannicus, the children of Messalina, should one day be in a position to avenge their mother by destroying those who had caused her death, chained them to

Claudius, Agrippina, Livia, and Tiberius.[1]

the fortunes of the new empress. Hence she immediately came into possession of power and influence, which she seized with a resolute hand and knew how to preserve. The tone of the government was at once changed, says Tacitus,[2] and in Agrippina Rome had a mistress who did not handle affairs with the levity of Messalina. In public, severity and often arrogance; in the palace, no more immoralities, unless they were such as would promote authority; but an insatiable greed, which concealed itself under the pretext of augmenting the resources of the State. Daughter, sister, and wife of *imperators*, she asserted herself to be called to share an Empire which her family had founded or

[1] Cameo on onyx of the Cabinet of Antiques at Vienna.
[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 7.

strengthened, and she wished to receive the same honours as Claudius himself, the senate's homage, the thanks of ambassadors, the supplications of captives, and, a spectacle new to Rome, to be present at reviews, and to preside in military attire under the standards.[1] The senate had decreed her the privilege of going up to the Capitol in the litter used to carry the sacred objects, and the right that Livia had had of putting her head upon the coins of the emperor. She was the first woman and the only one who aspired to found a colony with formal rites, a colony which has lasted to this day, the city of Cologne; she was rather the emperor's colleague than his wife.

The first act was to break off the marriage contract of Octavia with Silanus, who, regarding this rupture as a death sentence, killed himself on the very day of the emperor's marriage; and at once Agrippina affianced Octavia to her son Domitius (49 A.D.). To gain for him a share in the popularity at that time enjoyed by a writer noted at once for his talents and his misfortunes, she assigned to her son Seneca as a tutor, for which purpose she recalled the philosopher from exile[2] and appointed him prætor. The following year (50 A.D.), Pallas, citing the examples of Augustus and Tiberius, extorted from Claudius the adoption of Domitius, although the latter was but two years older than Britannicus, the emperor's own son. The new imperial prince took from that day the name by which he is known in history, that of Nero; and he was soon surrounded with honours that indicated him as heir to the Empire. The consulship was decreed to him, to take effect upon his twentieth birthday; meanwhile he was consul-elect, *princeps juventutis*, and outside Rome he had the proconsular authority. In his name a *donativum* was presented to the soldiers, a *congiarium* to the people, and his mother, who lost no occasion of showing him in public, and of presenting him as the natural successor of Claudius, caused him to celebrate magnificent games, and give, as prætor, a combat of gladiators. She further made

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 37: *feminam signis Romanis præsidere: ipsa semet parti a majoribus suis imperii sociam ferebat. Nos vidimus . . . . indutam paludamento.* (Pliny, xxxiii. 19; Dion, lx. 32.)

[2] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 8. The marriage of Domitius and Octavia did not take place till after the former had been adopted by Claudius; then to prevent Domitius from marrying his sister, Octavia was received by adoption into another family. (Dion, lx. 33.)

him the advocate of the provinces. In the year 52 he harangued the senate in Greek, for the purpose of soliciting favours for Ilium, Rhodes, and Apamea; and in Latin, to procure the sending of money to relieve Bologna.[1] Claudius, forgetful of his own son, allowed all this to be done. At the games of the circus, where Nero appeared wearing the triumphal robe, Britannicus wore only the *prætexta*;[2] one at a time his partisans were removed; and after a word which Agrippina chose to regard as an insult to her son, his slaves and freedmen were driven away from him, and his preceptors were put to death. The two prætorian prefects, understood to be devoted to the young prince, were replaced by Burrus, a brave soldier and as an officer devoted to the welfare of the State, who, however, in accepting this position from Agrippina, committed himself to serve the interests of her son at the expense of those of Britannicus, now isolated, and, as it were, a prisoner in his father's palace.

Nero, Consul-elect, and *princeps juventutis* (Silver Coin).

An act of feminine vengeance, the murder of Lollia Paulina, who had presumed to dispute with Agrippina the hand of Claudius, and the exile of Calpurnia, whose beauty the emperor had one day praised, caused little astonishment, notwithstanding a hideous detail preserved by Dion: Agrippina had commanded Lollia's head to be brought to her; not recognizing the remains, disfigured by death, she opened the mouth to assure herself, by certain peculiarities of the teeth, that it was indeed her victim's head. An accusation set on foot against the proconsul of Africa, Statilius Taurus, under pretext of extortions, made more stir, and restored to the senate an instant of courage. Statilius owned immense wealth, and this was his crime. Like so many others, he killed himself before the decision. Notwithstanding Agrippina's efforts, the senate declared the accusation a calumny and expelled the informer from the house.[3] Another senator had just been exiled for entering complaints against Vitellius.

Meanwhile Britannicus was growing up, and there was reason

[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 58.
[2] Suet., *Nero*, 6.
[3] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 57, and Suet., *Claud.*, 43.

to fear a revival of affection for him in the heart of the old emperor. Some threatening language had escaped from him while intoxicated,[1] and Narcissus did not hesitate to let it be known that he considered a fresh catastrophe needed; he flattered Britannicus, and prayed the gods to hasten his maturity that he might drive away the enemies of his father. Unhappily the freedman fell ill, and was obliged to go to drink the waters of Sinuessa, in hope of restoring his health. As his vigilant fidelity no longer protected the emperor's life, Agrippina resolved to take the opportunity to put an end to her anxieties. She addressed herself to one Locusta, a poisoner by trade, who had lately been condemned, and yet Tacitus adds, had been long kept ready as a needful instrument of the imperial policy.[3] Locusta was employed to prepare a favourite dish of the emperor; but the poison being rejected, a physician, under pretext of his art, introduced into the victim's throat a feather covered with a violent poison (13th October, 54 A.D.). The murder was accomplished, however, before the hour

Britannicus as Bacchus.[2]

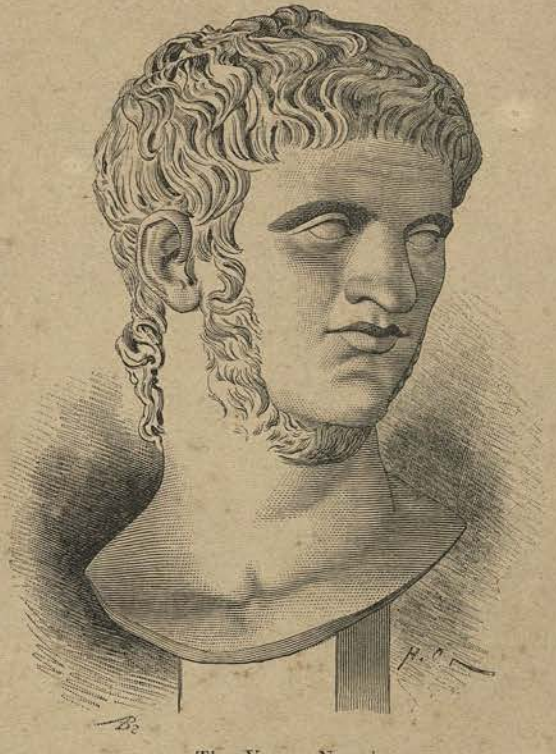
[1] Tac., *Ann.*, xii. 57.

[2] Statue found at Tivoli; Guattani, 1784, and Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 937, No. 2,390.

[3] *Diu inter instrumenta regni habita* (*Ann.*, xii. 66). It should be said that Josephus, who had no reason for sparing Agrippina and Nero, is much less positive: *καὶ λόγος ἦν παρά τινων ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἀγριππίνης φαρμάκοις ἀνῃρητο* (*Ant. Jud.*, xx. 8).

which the astrologers had fixed as most favourable for the accession of the new emperor; the gates, therefore, of the palace were closed, and it was announced that Claudius was recovering. He was already dead when the senate, consuls, and pontiffs, were offering prayers in the temples for his recovery, and the comedians were sent for to amuse him.

In the palace there were all possible preparations to secure the Empire to Nero. Agrippina, feigning profound grief, held Britannicus in her arms, and with perfidious caresses kept him and his sisters Antonia and Octavia within her reach until at noon the gates of the palace were suddenly thrown up, and Burrus presented Nero to the cohort of the guard. The troop, at a signal from the prefect, received him with acclamations. Some of the soldiers did indeed call out repeatedly for Britannicus, but their words having no echo they followed the general movement. Nero then went out to the camp of the prætorians, harangued them, and promised them the same largess that had been given by Claudius, upon which the soldiers, as their share of the bargain, proclaimed him emperor. The senate came after, confirming the soldiers' decision, and the provinces accepted it without hesitation. No man, in opposition to the imperious empress, whom palace and senate and army obeyed, dared mention the name of the unfortunate



The Young Nero.[1]

[1] Bust of the Capitol, Hall of the Emperors, No. 15.

young prince whom his father seemed to have disinherited. Narcissus, his only defender, received an order to die. Another person, Silanus, a descendant of the Cæsars—possibly, therefore, a rival—was poisoned. Agrippina had herself ordered these executions, that her son should find no obstacle on the road which she herself had opened to him by the murder of the emperor.

Agrippina (Bust of the Capitol, No. 14).

Claudius had been murdered; but this was no reason why he should not be apotheosized. Divine honours were decreed him.[1] In reality this decree of the senate was only an official engagement to molest no person on account of the late reign, since it was thus declared that all the acts of the late ruler were ratified, and his name was placed on the list of emperors. Seneca, however, avenged the public conscience by very severe strictures upon the new-made god and his colleagues in divinity.[2] It is a curious testimony to the true sentiments concealed under the hypocrisy of official religion and policy. The following is a summary of it:

"What was done in heaven the third day before the Ides of October I desire to relate to our descendants. If you are

[1] He had a temple and sacrifices and priests, *sodales Augustales*. Agrippina herself was, as Livia had been, priestess of the new divinity, having the *flaminium Claudiale*. (Borghesi, *Œuvres*, v. 202.)

[2] The *Apokolokyntosis*. The text of this satire, which is very incomplete, does not contain the metamorphosis which the title announces.

curious to know how I obtained this true history, inquire of him who saw Drusilla ascend to heaven. He is inspector of the Appian Way, by which, it is well known, the divine Augustus and Tiberius Cæsar went to the gods. He will tell you that he saw Claudius following with unsteady steps the same road.

"It was in the middle of the day: Claudius began to expel his soul, without its being able to find a place of exit from that ill-made body. Mercury, who had always been amused by

The Parcæ.[1]

the droll creature, took one of the Parcæ aside, and said to her: 'How can a woman be so cruel as to see a wretch in such torments? For nearly sixty-four years he has been quarrelling with his soul, and does not yet know whether he has ever yet been alive. What are you waiting for to do your office?' The Fate consented to cut this thread, entangled around a worthless spindle; Claudius finally threw up his soul, and ceased, not to live, but to appear alive.

"You have not forgotten what went on upon the earth and how great was the public rejoicing. In heaven it was announced

[1] From a mutilated fragment of the Parthenon (Clarac, *Musée*, pl. 824, No. 2,071 F.).

to Jupiter that a respectable-looking old man had just arrived, white-haired, with shaking head, lame foot, and some kind of threat on his lips. Being questioned as to his country, he replied in an inarticulate voice; he is neither Greek nor Roman. Jupiter, not very well informed about matters in this lower world, does not recognize the new comer, and cannot even decide to what nation he belongs. To escape from this difficulty the god summons Hercules, who, having explored all the world, ought to know all nations of men. But when the hero beheld that strange face, that crooked gait, when he heard the voice, like that of no animal on earth, he who had not trembled before Juno's monsters, was troubled, and believed some thirteenth labour was about to be laid upon him. However, looking closer, he recognized a kind of human shape, and asked him in Greek whence he came. Claudius was delighted to meet a Greek scholar, and to find an occasion to spin one of his long yarns. Hercules, who did not very well understand what the other was telling him, was afraid that the fool was about to play some trick upon him. He finally, however, was re-assured, and, being quite a good-natured divinity, he would have allowed himself to be duped, had it not been for Fever, who alone of all the Roman gods had accompanied Claudius. 'You,' she said to Hercules, 'who have visited more countries than the most indefatigable muleteer, you know that there are Lyonnese. Well, this man belongs to the town of Plancus. He is a Gaul, a downright Gaul.' Upon this, Claudius, in a rage, ordered the execution of Fever; but to see the indifference with which all present heard the order you would have thought them his freedmen."

Meanwhile the Olympian senate assembles. The work, which is mutilated here, does not allow us to be present until near the close of the session, when Father Janus, a jovial frequenter of the Forum, begins to speak. He represents that formerly it was a great matter to become a god, but that now the honour is decreed to anybody and has ceased to be of value: so he counsels that no more gods be made, and that the next individual who, having been apotheosized in painting or bronze on earth, arrives in Olympus, be beaten with rods. But Jupiter disagrees. "It concerns our state," he says, "that Romulus be not the only one

to eat boiled turnips; I vote, therefore, that the divine Claudius be allowed his divinity, and that this marvel be added to Ovid's *Metamorphoses*." Opinions were very diverse; Hercules being gained over to the cause of Claudius, ran hither and thither, as if he had been in the Roman senate, saying to this one and that: "Do not disoblige me, I have made this my personal affair. Another time, if you want something of me I will do it for you."

"But the divine Augustus rises, and for the first time since he has been among the gods makes his noble voice heard. He relates the murders ordered by Claudius, without allowing the accused to speak in their own defence. 'This,' he says, 'is not the way things are done here. Look at Jupiter; it is true he cast Vulcan down from heaven and broke his thigh, and that he hung his wife up by the feet one day, being angry; but he never has killed anybody, long as he has reigned. Verily, if you make such gods as Claudius, you yourselves will never be recognized any more.' This opinion carries the day; Mercury seizes Claudius by the nape of the neck and drags him away to the infernal regions. As they are on the way, they meet, upon the Via Sacra, a fine funeral procession, and as it is extremely magnificent it at once appears that they are about to inter a god; now, at last, Claudius understands that he is dead. Narcissus hastens to meet him, and preceding him, in the manner of a herald, announces Claudius Cæsar. At once a crowd of victims rush towards him, striking their hands together and chanting the hymn of the priests of Apis: 'We have found him, we have found him! Rejoice!' He, astonished, inquires how it happens that all his friends, acquaintances, and relatives are met together in this place. 'It is you, assassin of your friends and kindred, who have sent us hither,' replies Pompeius, to whom Claudius gave back the surname of Magnus, but from whom he took his head. They drag Claudius into the presence of Æacus, one of the three judges in Hades, who condemns him unheard, saying: 'Suffer thou what thou hast caused others to suffer.' Claudius regards this procedure as unjust, but he cannot regard it as new, having often applied it himself. When it is a question what shall be the penalty, some propose that Claudius shall take the place of Tantalus; others, that of Sisyphus or Ixion. Æacus replies that in relieving these veterans

of Hades this hope would be given to Claudius, that he in turn might some day obtain a substitute; and he condemns the imbecile and avaricious old man to seek for a gain which for ever escapes him: he shall eternally throw dice into a bottomless dice-box. Already this new son of Danaus is seeking with convulsed fingers to seize the fugitive dice, when Caligula arrives and claims him as his slave, bringing witnesses who have seen him scourge his feeble-minded relative; he obtains him, and then gives him over to one of his freedmen, who compels the pettifogging Cæsar eternally to drag sacks of law-papers."

This mythological pamphlet appeared to the people, or rather to the courtiers of the new reign, to lack in point and boldness; and a new conclusion was put to it, replacing the punishment of the counterfeit emperor by a transformation into a pumpkin.

Claudius, it may be, merited this funeral oration, which mocks the masters of heaven as well as those of earth; but it was not the affair of the flatterer of Claudius to write it.[1] However, I am not certain that Horace and Augustus himself would not have laughed in secret at this impertinent response to the *Carmen sæculare* of the year 17 B.C. Sixty-three years back Roman society was much the same, but the satirical philosopher pulled off the mask under which the first emperor and his poet laureate had attempted to hide it.

[1] *Cons. ad Polyb.*, 26, 31, 32. The *Ludus de morte Claudii, vulgo Apokolokyntosis*, is a Menippean satire, a mixture of prose and verse; the anapæsts are elegant and vivacious, and strange to say, recall in their design certain hymns of the Church.

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Agrippina and Claudius (Silver Coin).

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